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RECONCILING IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY IN AN OUTLAW MOTORCYCLE CLUB

by

Ⓒ DANIEL A. RESHETYLO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled RECONCILING IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY IN AN OUTLAW MOTORCYCLE CLUB, submitted by DANIEL RESHETYLO, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

David E. Young
Supervisor

Ruth Gruhn

Regna Darnell

Anthony E. Thomas
External Examiner

Date June 12 1980

DEDICATION

To the members of the Rebels Motorcycle
Club with whom I had the privilege to ride.
To those brothers who like myself are a
little older now, but who still ride
against the wind . . . still riding
against the wind.

ABSTRACT

In its broadest sense, this thesis is concerned with the construction of a general theory and methodology that are capable of achieving a greater understanding of the phenomenon of intracultural diversity and how that diversity relates to the process of individual and group adaptation. The study specifically focusses on the problem of how both intracultural diversity and personal identity are accommodated within the context of a small, tightly-knit group. This problem is approached in terms of the paradox that while diversity may facilitate adaptive flexibility and therefore be an asset to the group, the full recognition and uncontrolled expression of that diversity on the part of its members may be a liability. The process of achieving a balance between the organizational requirement for heterogeneity and the psychological need for perceived homogeneity is discussed within the ethnographic setting of an urban subculture: the Rebels Motorcycle Club.

Members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club achieve a corporate identity by separating themselves structurally and emotionally from the host society. However, the exigencies of adapting to an often hostile environment places disparate demands on the group. The behavioural latitude that is subsequently required to adapt to these different situations can be met only by being able to draw upon a reservoir of diverse, often contradictory, cognitive and behavioural repertoires from within the group. Individual variation not only generates the necessary element of ideational and behavioural flexibility, but is furthermore portrayed as providing the internal cultural dynamic which shapes the ongoing

political rhetoric and forms the basis of continuing social change.

Informal observations and formal testing of the Rebels Motorcycle Club indicated that intracultural diversity emanates from intermember variation in the form of diverse personal orientations toward the group's core ideology:

1) Members have different perceptions of the group goal.
2) Members are committed to group goals to varying degrees.
3) Members have distinct personal goals that they hope to achieve through group participation.

These three categorical sources of variation are in addition to, but different from, variation resulting from a basic division of roles. While the latter results from the integration of complementary skills into a social system, the former is the result of divergent personal orientations toward the core ideology that underlies the system. In effect, individual members have different theories of group culture. In order to forge this variation into a viable organization, it becomes necessary to amplify the experience of mutuality and solidarity through authentic identity-promoting interactions that effectively secure cooperation among members who represent divergent interests.

The picture of society that emerges goes beyond the dialectical framework wherein sociocultural entities (ideational and behavioural patterns) change and develop by virtue of conflict between simultaneously occurring oppositions and opposite trends within them. The processes involved in the maintenance of this enduring diversity transcend the dialectical conceptualization in two significant ways: first, they do not necessarily involve a synthesis, elimination, or reconciliation of alternatives or opposites; and second, they involve simultaneity rather than sequence. Observations of the Rebels Motorcycle Club indicated simultaneous and sustained oppositions and antitheses; the ideational and behavioural structure of the Rebels Motorcycle Club displayed alternatives and oppositions that remained self-contradictory, often times tense, and in many cases, unresolved.

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Although I wrote this thesis and therefore take full responsibility for its contents, there are those who contributed to its production and to whom I therefore owe a note of genuine appreciation.

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COLOURED PICTURE

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

This section provides an historical, definitional, methodological, and theoretical framework for the analysis of intracultural diversity and identity maintenance. Chapter 1 introduces the major theoretical concerns of the study and their significance to the science of anthropology. Chapter 2 outlines the research tools and strategies employed in data collection, the ethical principles that served as guidelines, and the ethnographic risks involved in conducting the study. Chapter 3 briefly reviews the characteristics and historical importance of voluntary associations, and examines the outlaw motorcycle club - categorically defined as a voluntary association - as a social form that is reflexive of an industrial society. Chapter 4 documents the emergence of those sociostructural conditions that led to the definition of outlaw motorcycle clubs as a social problem, and their evolution to the present day status of subculture.

Chapter 1 - Problem Statement and Organization of Thesis
Chapter 2 - Methodology
Chapter 3 - History of Voluntary Associations
Chapter 4 - History of Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs

Chapter 1

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The emergence of anthropology as a scientific discipline was predicated by the recognition of inter-cultural diversity. Early explanations as to how and why cultures differed were based upon abstract studies of social organizations as fixed social structures characterized by internal consistency, integratedness, and operational equilibrium. Concomitant with these formulations was the principle of cultural homogeneity: that cognitive sharing by members of a society is necessary to ensure the continuance of a social system. Thus, when D.F. Aberle, A.K. Cohen, A.K. Davis, M.J. Levy, and F.X. Sutton (1950:107) isolated "the functional prerequisites of a society," they included both "shared cognitive orientations" and "a shared articulated set of goals." In conjunction with these "prerequisites," anthropological studies of inter and intragroup relations tended to present uniformity as being axiomatic to the maintenance of group boundaries, while the presence of diversity was viewed as jeopardizing internal group stability.

More recent studies of the relationship between the individual and society have called into question any *a priori* assumptions of cognitive sharing. In conjunction with the shift of emphasis in anthropology from stressing structure and rules to articulating processes of adaptation through emergent strategies, there has occurred a growing acknowledgement of both the fact of and the need for cognitive diversity:

> Indeed, we now suggest that human societies may characteristically require the nonsharing of certain cognitive maps among participants in a variety of institutional arrangements . . . . For cognitive nonuniformity subserves two important functions: (1) it permits a more complex system to arise than most, or any, of its participants can comprehend; (2) it liberates the participants in a system from the heavy burden of learning and knowing each other's motivations and cognitions (Wallace, 1970:35).

Concepts such as "cultural idiolects" (Aberle, 1960), "mazeways" (Wallace, 1970), and "propriospect" (Goodenough, 1972), all reflect the basic proposition that individuals formulate distinct versions of their culture.

This study focusses on the problem of how both intracultural diversity and intracultural uniformity are accommodated within the context of a small, tightly-knit group. The problem is approached in terms of the paradox that while diversity may facilitate adaptive flexibility and therefore be an asset to the group, the full recognition and uncontrolled expression of that diversity on the part of its members may be a liability. The process of achieving a balance between the organizational requirement for heterogeneity and the psychological need for perceived homogeneity is discussed in terms of data derived from the study of an urban subculture: the Rebels Motorcycle Club. Members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club achieve a corporate identity by separating themselves structurally and emotionally from the host society. However, the exigencies of adapting to an often hostile environment places disparate demands on the group. The behavioural latitude that is subsequently required to adapt to these different situations can be met only by being able to draw upon a reservoir of diverse, often contradictory, cognitive patterns and behavioural repertoires from within the group. Yet, the Rebels Motorcycle Club whose manifest function is to provide a sense of intermember solidarity and group identity, must simultaneously be able to give the appearance of unity, purpose and design.

The units of analysis, areas of concern, general theoretical scope, and overall organization of this study are summarized the following research problem.

A. Distinctions

1. Sources of variation

    a) Organizational - Organizational diversity is a function of the basic division of labour within an integrated system of roles in order to accomplish a diversified set of tasks.

    b) Psychological - Psychological diversity is a function of the variation in individual needs to which the group serves as a collective response.

2. Kinds of variation

    a) Overt - Overt diversity is the visible expression of organizational and/or psychological variation through either verbal or non-verbal behaviour.

    b) Covert - Covert diversity is the non-visible variation in the cognitive assemblages of individuals including rules, goals, and plans of actions, etc.

B. Argument

1. Intracultural diversity stemming from organizational (A.l.a) and psychological (A.l.b) variation is always present and usually beneficial. Variation is required to meet diverse, often disparate, organizational and social structural requirements of the group. The range of variation that is demanded often extends beyond the diversification that is required by the basic division of roles to include the accommodation of conflicting role performance. The source of this intracultural diversity is shown to emanate from intermember variation in the form of diverse personal orientations towards the group's core ideology: (a) Members have different perceptions of the group goal; (b) members are committed to the group goals to varying degrees; and (c) members have distinct personal goals that they hope to achieve through group participation.

This intermember diversity is portrayed as being instrumental in generating the behavioural latitude necessary to meet disparate group demands.

2. The Recognition (perception) of Variation - both overt (A.2.a) and covert (A.2.b) - by members and/or outsiders is not always beneficial.

   The recognition or perception of variation must be controlled; for if the full extent of variation becomes known, breakdown may occur. An individual becomes a member of the group because he identifies with at least some of the group's values, goals, and plans of action for achieving these goals. Thus, while individuals may use the group to meet diverse idiosyncratic needs, meeting those needs may require at least a minimal impression of uniformity necessary to maintain the sense of identity that underlies co-operative - common goal - groups in general, and which is characteristic of subcultures in particular.

3. The Expression (behaviour) of Variation - both organizational (A.1.a) and psychological (A.1.b) - by members is not always beneficial.

   The expression of variation must be controlled; for if too much behavioural variation is enacted, breakdown will occur. Normative expectancies are necessary to organize a social environment wherein the individual becomes reasonably predictable to the group, and the group becomes reasonably predictable to the individual (Kelvin, 1971). Behavioural variation that effectively neutralizes the element of predictability would subsequently undermine the confidence individuals have in that social environment. Overtones of uncertainty would be particularly damaging in situations calling for altruistic behaviour such as generalized reciprocity or self-sacrifice.

4. Paradox: The problem becomes one of maintaining an optimal level of variation - both overt (A.2.a) and covert (A.2.b) - while avoiding the disruptive consequences - both perceptual (B.2) and behavioural (B.3) - of excessive variation.

5. Situational Context: One of the underlying themes of this study is that variation is not a random phenomenon; its manifestation is systematically related to specific environmental conditions to which the group as a unit and members as individuals must adapt.

> The behavioural expression and perceptual recognition of variation have different implications for both individual and group welfare depending on the context in which they occur. The treatise examines how variation relates to the process of individual/group adaptation in three different social structural contexts: (1) the formal group organization of the club; (2) the maintenance of a buffer zone between the club and host society; (3) the personal subsistence techniques of individual members. The dynamics of how intracultural diversity is organized is shown to be contingent upon the situational exigencies that present themselves in each of these settings and to vary accordingly.

C. Analysis

In order to both gauge the presence of ideational and behavioural variation and comprehend the role that intracultural diversity plays in sociocultural adaptation, it is necessary to transcend the traditional approach in anthropology wherein the group or institution becomes the basic unit of analysis. In particular, an effective study of variation cannot be conducted when the emphasis is placed on sociocultural integration and intermember uniformism as achieved through normative determinism. A personalcentric is here introduced whereby the individual - viewed as the locus of cultural learning, adaptation, and change - becomes the initial level of analysis. The advantage that such a research strategy confers lies in its ability to discern both the qualitative (cultural themes or motifs) and the quantitative (areas and extent of intermember sharing) precedents that an individual brings into a decision making situation. The personalcentric approach thus allows the investigator to go beyond the abstraction of sociocultural rules, and to actively engage the strategies that underlie observed individual, aggregate, or group plans of action. In effect, the personalcentric approach facilitates the separation of two sets of processes: 1) social structure versus culture, and 2) processes of differentiation versus processes of integration. These distinctions are considered as being requisite to achieving an understanding of the dynamics of variation.

D. Organization of Thesis

A major challenge in synthesizing the wide variety of data collected for this study was to combine descriptive information, formal data, and theoretical insights in such a way that data and theory are not divorced but illuminate each other. Rather than having a separate ethnographic section, ethnographic data are placed in those sections of the thesis to which they are most relevant theoretically. In other words, the structure of the thesis is provided by the theory - not the ethnography. At the same time, however, an attempt has been made to respect the integrity of the ethnographic information; the ethnography is not used simply to illustrate theory, and, perhaps most importantly, great effort has been taken to ensure that the structure and content of the ethnography accurately reflect the (emic) reality of the outlaw subculture as experienced by its members. The thesis is comprised of five sections which are further subdivided into (eighteen) chapters:

Section I, Introduction, provides the historical, definitional, methodological, and theoretical framework for the analysis of intracultural diversity and identity maintenance within the ethnographic context of an outlaw motorcycle club.

Section II, The Construction of a Personal Identity: Joining the Brotherhood, devulges the complex interplay of social and psychological forces that underly the transitional stages involved in becoming a member of the Rebels Motorcycle Club.

Section III, The Negotiation of Group Identity, describes the formal organization of the club and establishes the ethnographic context for the first of the (three) major theoretical discussions:

Formal Group Organization - This segment of the study critically examines what Cohen (1969:108) designated as the "necessary preconditions" of firmly bounded systems: "role transposability," "the inability to tolerate sustained and outspoken dissent," and "lack of differentiation of networks within the unit itself." Data based on participant observation is presented to demonstrate that these "preconditions" - themselves based upon the assumed need for cognitive uniformity - are not only unnecessary but can work to the actual disadvantage of the group.

Within the controlled organizational setting of the group, such as club meetings taking place at the clubhouse, the Rebels Motorcycle Club is relatively isolated from threatening pressures emanating from outside groups. In the absence of external threat, the perception and behavioural expression of diversity does not have negative implications for either group or individual welfare. Intracultural variation is institutionalized in the form of normative mechanisms for both the elicitation of diversity, e.g., debate, and the reaching of consensus, e.g., standardized decision-making procedures such as voting. For example, the issue arose as to whether or not the Rebels Motorcycle Club should form a chapter in Red Deer. Members promoting expansion wanted to see the Rebels Motorcycle Club become a larger organization. They furthermore argued that a chapter located in Red Deer would deter the northward movement of the Grim Reapers Motorcycle Club, a rival club based in southern Alberta. This policy innovation was opposed by those members who wished to promote the Rebels Motorcycle Club as a tightly-knit unit and who felt that expansion would result in the depletion of both material and personnel resources. When members failed to reach a consensus through informal discussions the matter was raised at a meeting, debated, and resolved through a vote; expansion was rejected. Thus, members participate in moulding the group paradigm through an institutionalized framework wherein they are able to innovate, evaluate, and control group policies. Individual divergence in effect shapes the ongoing political rhetoric, forms the basis of social change (Bennet, 1976), and is accepted as part of the group process.

Section IV, The Negotiation of Identity Between the Group and the Host Society, discusses the social-structural interfacing of the outlaw club subculture with the host society and sets the stage for the second major theoretical discussion:

Maintenance of a Buffer Zone - The Rebels Motorcycle Club constitutes a formal voluntary association that is not capable of self-perpetuity and must therefore recruit new members from outside the group. This situation places contradictory demands on the group: organizational integrity (independence) which requires that barriers prohibiting social interaction with the host society be maintained, and organizational perpetuity (recruitment of members) which requires that those social borders be crossed. The resolution of this conflict takes place at a public tavern which the Rebels utilize as a club bar. While the clubhouse is the private domain of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, the club bar is located in a public hotel. The accessibility of the club bar to the public allows the nucleus of Rebel club members to surround itself with a mutual support group whose respective resources, from information on carburetor systems to physical self-defence, they can readily draw upon. The most vital resource that the Rebels Motorcycle Club procures by allowing a subculture of non-affiliated motorcyclists to crystallize around it is new members.

Unlike club events held within the confines of the clubhouse, the Rebels in the bar must continually negotiate their presence and behavioural style in terms of highly unpredictable external variables, the most salient of which is physical threat:

> I thought, "Well, this is it!" I looked at all the hardware those guys (members of Canadian Airborne) were carrying, and I thought, "Well, this is it! I'm probably not going to be able to walk for a month!" There must have been at least fifty-five of them. I went at them, swinging, kicking, clawing with anything we could find. I got a boot in the head and went down with sore ribs, but that was about it (Onion, Rebels M.C.).

Under these buffer zone conditions normative procedures for regulating variation become inoperable; yet the overt expression of variation becomes intolerable. The potentially disruptive effects of perceived variation arise as a result of the negative implications it holds for: (i) the degree to which the Rebels appear vulnerable to outside threats; (ii) the extent to which the Rebels are successful in presenting a favourable impression to potential novitiates (strikers); (iii) members' own perceptions of group uniformity and solidarity. Joint ritual - drinking, joking and carousing together - and symbolic participation - style of dress and demeanour - by members allows the intended function of the bar to operate while giving the impression of complete uniformity and solidarity to outsiders. This collective symbolism furthermore amplifies the experience of uniformity and solidarity for members by both regulating and disguising the dialectic between personal motivations and group interests. Section V, Group Identity and Mechanisms of Informal Control, discusses the neuropsychological realities of human information processing that lead the author to posit the individual as the locus of cultural learning, adaptation, and change. The validity of this theoretical position is tested by demonstrating that culture (informational precedents for decision making) is not merely a correlate of social structure nor is it inextricably limited to group participation:

Personal Subsistence Techniques - Analysis of the personal subsistence techniques of members in terms of job choice revealed that the impact of group affiliation on decision-making processes extended beyond both formally organized and collective activities, into the area of what would otherwise be considered as personal behaviour. Informal social borders result from more than one member bringing similar perspectives into areas of non-club behaviour, resulting in overlapping behavioural responses. For example, members formally interviewed shared an explicit understanding that being a mechanic would be a valued economic activity while being a store clerk would not be; attending university was considered a waste of time while attending a technological institute was endorsed as a credible option; the prospect of being a truck driver was evaluated positively while being a transit driver was evaluated negatively, and so forth. These informal social borders (overlapping job choices on the part of members) are the result of the psychological forces of self-identity extending beyond the sociological forces of formal and collective participation. Specifically the overlap is a result of members' identity being threatened in a situation wherein there is no social (club) form to fall back upon. While variation is not regulated by the group, it is not tolerated by the individual and uniformity is emphasized in the face of threat to personal identity occurring outside the club context. The individual's lack of tolerance for personal variation is attributable to the fact that no one identity dimension acts in isolation from any other and that individual attempts at consistency will result in mutual influence between what would otherwise be independent aspects of his lifestyle. In this section, a purely cultural analysis reveals social borders where none are explicitly enforced or recognized.

Conclusion

The issue for anthropologists is no longer whether sociocultural systems are dependent upon "the replication of uniformity" or "the organization of diversity" (Wallace, 1970); nor is it a matter of reconciliation. In the study that follows it becomes evident that there is a necessity for simultaneous and sustained opposition between the demand for uniformity and the requisite of diversity. In summary, the main thrust of this treatise is that sociocultural survival is dependent upon the operational balance of two oppositional processes - synthesis leading to intracultural uniformity and fragmentation leading to intracultural diversity - contradictions within the system that must remain unresolved.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

Ethical Principles and Ethnographic Risks

Outlaw motorcycle clubs have received continual attention from the media since their being stereotyped as social deviants in the fifties, as subcultures of violence in the sixties, and vehicles of organized crime in the seventies. Yet outlaw motorcycle clubs remain an ethnographically unexplored phenomenon by virtue of a rigid system of border maintenance that makes contact difficult, and infiltration hazardous, even for those agents for whom infiltration is a profession.

> Infiltration of the gangs is difficult.
>
> "They have an internal discipline that makes it difficult," said a police officer. "It's an area we have trouble infiltrating. The conditions of initiation make it almost impossible . . . ."
>
> "They are scarey," said one police intelligence officer, who asked not to be identified.
>
> "We've had two or three informants killed, found tied to trees up north with bullet holes in them" (Agnew, Canadian Press Release in Edmonton Journal, September 22, 1979).

Outlaw motorcycle clubs continue to be subject to selective surveillance by law enforcement agencies, exploitative and sensationalistic stereotyping by the media, and hostilities emanating from various "outsiders." The dedicated vigilance with which outlaw clubs attend to the efficacious defence of strict social structural boundaries is not only the basis of their establishing a corporate identity, it is the key to their survival as an organization.

For the social scientist the situation is one of restricted

COLOURED PICTURE

Plate 2. Author and researcher - Coyote (photograph courtesy of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Edm. S/D G.I.S.).

Plate 3. Lady Sandra, companion of Coyote on a moon light mile.

entry; for an ethnographer, the reality that must be faced is that the social situation cannot be approached as an anthropologist. As a result the first three years of this study (1974 to 1976) were conducted without communicating to the Rebels M.C. either the fact that this researcher was an anthropologist or the researcher's intention hopefully to make them the subject of a scientific treatise. The study was initiated in the only manner it could have been: undercover. The subject matter of the study in general, and the above research procedure in particular, raise some serious ethical questions. These questions of professional ethics of anthropological research are responded to within the context of those Principles of Professional Responsibility as codified and adopted (1971) by the Council of the American Anthropological Association.

(1) Public Versus Secret Entry - "The aims of the investigation should be communicated as well as possible to the informant" (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971: paragraph 1,B).

As stated earlier, ethnographic conditions represented a social situation of restricted entry. It is this author's opinion that given the group's subcultural relationship to the host society, it would have been impossible to complete the study had the research objectives been communicated at the outset. Alternatively, an agreement was reached with members of the thesis study committee that an attempt would be made to establish contact with the club as a biker; and, if successful in achieving a degree of rapport and mutual trust with club members, the Rebels M.C. would be officially approached with the proposal of conducting a study. This research strategy immediately posed two high-risk potentials. First, had the Rebels M.C. discovered the ulterior "fieldwork motive" underlying this author's presence, there existed the distinct possibility that more than just the study would have been terminated prematurely. It would have been difficult to communicate any "good intentions" - scientific or otherwise - under such circumstances. After interacting with club members for some time, the researcher was to learn that they suspected that an individual who attempted to become a "striker" (initiate) was an agent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; they furthermore had been "burned" at an earlier date by a journalist. Second, the possibility existed that even if the author was able to establish himself as a friend of the club, the members might still not acquiesce to being units of analysis. Such an eventuality appeared more and more imminent as the investigator grew to sense and share members' xenophobic distrust of outsiders, and as he came to understand the multifaceted role that a negative stereotype - however unrealistic - plays in discouraging unwarranted intrusions by outsiders into the outlaw's world. The greatest human fear is the fear that emanates from the unknown. The sociopath stereotype effectively destroys the minimal degree of predictability that is necessary for social interaction. For the majority of "outsiders," the prospect of having to initiate even the briefest encounter with an outlaw biker would bring forth emotions ranging from uneasiness to sheer dread. The Rebels M.C. had previously turned down approaches for interviews from various public media such as television (CBC), radio (CJCA), and newspapers (Edmonton Journal). If the Rebels M.C. had at any point in time refused permission for the study all data collected would have been permanently filed and the investigation closed.

Knowing that the completion of the study was contingent upon neither of the aforementioned two possibilities materializing, contact procedures were initiated. After what amounted to a three-year gamble, this author approached several members of the executive board with the proposal of "doing an anthropological study." The executive analyzed the proposal and then presented it to the general membership at a club meeting. The issue was hotly debated, a vote was held, and the study approved. Apparently granting permission for the study was done as a "personal favour."

> You have come into favour with a lot of the members and have been nothing but good to the club. All in all you've been a pretty righteous "friend of the club." But there was a lot of opposition to your study, especially from guys like T.T. (Terrible Tom) and Blues. The way I see it the vote went the way it did because you were asking us a favour. You didn't come in promising us the moon, you know, money from books and that kind of thing. You promised us nothing so we did it as a personal favour (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

(2) Conflicts of Interest -

> In research, an anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to those he studies. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honour their dignity and privacy (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971: paragraph 1).

The three years of ethnographic fieldwork that formed the descriptive data base of the study had a dual purpose: theory was used as a guide to empirical fieldwork, and empirical data were used to assess the theory. The length of association with the Rebels enabled the author to discover the vested interests of the club and its members, and at what point those interests and activities conflicted with various elements in the host society. This writer's areas of investigation - those requiring maximal and detailed information disclosure - were modified accordingly. At no time was any information that could damage the group passed on to any person or agency.

(3) Protection of Privacy and Sensitivities -

> Where research involves the acquisition of material and information transferred on the assumption of trust between persons, it is axiomatic that the rights, interests, and sensitivities of those studied must be safeguarded (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971: paragraph 1,A).

The Rebels were assured of their being able to scrutinize any material prior to its being published commercially. This access included the opportunity for the addition of what they felt were relevant data and/or the deletion of either legally incriminating or personally sensitive information.

> Informants have a right to remain anonymous. This right should be respected both where it has been promised explicitly and where no clear understanding to the contrary has been reached. These strictures apply to the collection of data by means of cameras, tape recorders, and other data-gathering devices, as well as to data collected in face-to-face interviews or in participant observation . . . . Despite every effort being made to preserve anonymity it should be made clear to informants that such anonymity may be compromised unintentionally (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971: paragraph 1,C).

With respect to the issue of anonymity, it would run counter to the Rebels M.C. freedom ethic to be anything other than masters of their own fate. The Rebels M.C. were asked to decide whether to use the actual club nomen and/or disguise the city of location. Members as individuals had the option of using their actual names, e.g., Ken, club pseudonyms, e.g., Blues, alternate pseudonyms, e.g., Spider (?), or a selective combination of the above. That anonymity might be unintentionally compromised is a distinct possibility insofar as certain events documented in this study received national news coverage, such as the bar room confrontation with members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment.

(4) Manuscript Accessibility -

> In accordance with the Association's general position on clandestine and secret research, no reports should be provided to sponsors

> that are not available to the general public and, where practicable, to the population studied (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971: paragraph 1,G).

The present study was supported by Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship Awards No. W73-3491 and W74-4635, and an I.W. Killam Memorial Scholarship. No data that resulted from the present research was provided to the above sponsors or any other organization - academic, legal, or otherwise - that was not also made accessible to the general community as a whole, including the Rebels M.C.

(5) Exploitation - "There should be no exploitation of individual informants for personal gain. Fair return should be given them for all services" (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971: paragraph 1,D). There has occurred no exploitation of the Rebels M.C. to the extent that neither the club nor any of its members have suffered any physical, social or psychological harm as a result of the study. Conversely, any offers of economic remuneration on the author's part would have constituted an insult to the interpersonal bonds formed with members. This author did engage in numerous exchanges over a wide variety of situations - from buying beer, drinking and fighting together in the bar, to mutual aid in the repair of motorcycles, through to roast goose Sunday dinners; however, these exchanges were part of the role that accompanied the achieved status of "friend of the club." One possible exception was the gift of a twenty-six ounce bottle of Alberta Springs (Old Time Sipping Whiskey) and a Harley-Davidson beer mug to those members who eventually subjected themselves to a three and one-half hour structured interview. "Fair return" for the club will be in the form of a bound copy of this treatise which will find a place amongst the other clubhouse trophies. Hopefully the manuscript will become part of

the club's mythology and serve to remind new, old, and ex-members of those times when they rode against the wind: their heritage as Rebels.

Research Tools and Strategies

The data for this study was collected through the methods of participant observation, key informant interviewing, and a structured interview which included a questionnaire and open-ended discussions.

(1) Participant Observation - Direct observation and participation, along with key informant interviews conducted at a later date, constituted the core techniques for obtaining the bulk of the ethnographic (descriptive) data. The role of biker that this author was to play was not totally alien to same; the writer had ridden motorcycles several years prior to making contact with the club but the role needed refinement. The researcher purchased a Harley-Davidson Electraglide ('72 Shovelhead), grew shoulder-length hair and a Karl Marx beard, sported leather (road jacket and vest), leather studded wrist bands, and a cut-off denim jacket with assorted Harley-Davidson insignia, all symbolic of the outlaw headspace. Initial contact with the Rebels M.C. was made with Wee Albert in the parking lot of what was then the club bar (Kingsway Motor Inn). Wee Albert and the author talked for some time then the author was invited to sit at the Rebel tables. By frequenting the club bar, the researcher came to know the members and began to "learn the brotherhood" by becoming an active part of their intense social network. Concomitant with getting to know members on a more personal basis the number and variety of social situations in which the researcher was invited to participate increased. These preliminary stages involved establishing a broad overview of what constitutes the structure - the

levels and areas of social participation involved - and the content - the fundamental themes and central values of a culture that form the underlying sentiments and guide the predominant behaviour patterns - of Rebel M.C. society.

Preliminary observations of the Rebels M.C. indicated that the quality of participation is such that members are provided with the foundation of a total lifestyle. Specifically, membership in the Rebels M.C. enables a member to locate himself (i) structurally within an organization through ideological participation (formal institutional structure), (ii) emotionally within a group through the formation of intense interpersonal ties of brotherhood (group social network), and (iii) personally within a coherent set of values which coalesce around the identity/role of an outlaw biker (personal value system). As a "friend of the club," the researcher was involved in all three levels of group participation, albeit to a lesser extent than club "patch holders":

(i) Formal institutional structure. Participation on this level included riding with members on "club runs" (motorcycle tours) the master trait of an outlaw club's functioning which operationalizes the members' "freedom ethic." This author furthermore took part in official social events (bar-b-ques, parties, etc.) held at the clubhouse. On a subliminal basis, the author did partake in the political rhetoric concerning the club's future. Many of the above events brought the writer into contact with other outlaw clubs such as the Spokesmen M.C. of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; the Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary, Alberta; the Bounty Hunters of Victoria, British Columbia; the Gypsy Wheelers M.C. of Whiterock, British Columbia; and the Warlords

M.C. of Edmonton, Alberta. These contacts familiarized the author with the nature of the variables underlying the political relationships of conflict and alliance that exist between outlaw clubs. In addition, certain events such as a 3500 mile Rebel run to the west coast would include a prolonged (five-day) stay at the Bounty Hunters M.C. clubhouse. These extended contacts provided comparative data on inter-club similarities and differences in terms of variables of: social structure (relationship of club to host society), organization (structure and processes of club infrastructure), and social-psychology (psychological functions served by group).

(ii) Group social network. Participation in the group social network involved becoming part of the relationship of "brotherhood": being part of a high frequency of interpersonal contacts activated over a wide range of social situations which establishes among members a sense of moral, emotional and material interdependence and commitment. Included among these activities were: drinking and carousing in the club bar, assisting members in the chopping (customizing) and repair of motorcycles, loaning and borrowing money, shooting pool and "bullshitting" at the clubhouse, the exchange of motorcycle parts and information at Brothers' Custom Motorcycle Ltd. (a shop owned by two club members), going on a duck hunt and fishing trips, acting as the photographer for a member's wedding, casual visits and dinner invitations, providing emotional and physical support, general partying and riding together, etc. It is a tenet of social network theory that the exegencies of time, energy, and space dictate that an individual can maintain only a limited number of intense social contacts with a limited number of people. Accordingly, an individual who enters the club's social sphere - becomes a "friend of the club" such as this investigator did - is subject to what might be termed network encapsulization: a process whereby increasing commitment to a delimited set of individuals concomitantly leads to decreasing participation/association with other contacts lying outside that network. In effect, the borders between these potential members and those who are conceived of as outsiders become more definite and restrictive in nature.

(iii) Personal value system. Participant observation is singularly most effective as a technique for achieving an understanding of the culture being studied from the perspective of its participants. Through immersion in the social contexts outlined above, this writer was able to gain insight into how the Rebels defined their universe: their rules and categories of meaning; and how they reacted to that universe: their rules and categories of action. The isolation of personal values allowed the author to abstract predominant cultural themes. The reoccurrence of those cultural themes in varying social contexts allowed the researcher to integrate conceptually what might otherwise have resembled a socio-cultural inventory.

Aside from the fact that the study could not have been completed in any other manner, the significance of the investigator approaching the Rebels M.C. not as an anthropologist but as a biker was that he was able to take full advantage of the reciprocal relationship between participation and observation. Through observation, the writer was in a position to elicit and/or deduce those rules and categories of meaning and action that constitute members' cultural repertoires. Through participation, this writer was able to test the validity of his own formulations either through the prediction of, or by generating, acceptable/

appropriate behaviour (both verbal and non-verbal). This writer's "undercover" approach enabled him to experience as any other "prospect" the initial stages of contact and incorporation into the club; the strategy in turn forced the author either to learn to perform as well as any other "friend of the club" or terminate the association. There were no allowances made for the writer being an anthropologist.[1]

There were two other implications that the "undercover" approach held for the effectiveness of the participant observer technique. First, the sociocultural processes were natural or "as it happens" insofar as the writer's presence was completely unobtrusive. Second, he was exposed to the full breadth of club experiences that a "friend of the club" as "prospect" would have access to. The aspect of having access to club life in an unbenighted fashion was critical to the study in that the writer had an opportunity to discern those aspects of internal group dynamics that are the result of intermember diversity. This spectrum of activities that are effectively disguised from outsiders included the animated conflicts of interest, assiduous political lobbying, the agitation of gossip, and the sensitivities underlying the application of sanctions in a tightly-knit group. Finally, the effectiveness of the undercover strategy in gaining access to an ethnographic situation of restricted entry is perhaps best conveyed by witnessing some of the difficulties and obvious limitations that would inevitably result from approaching a subculture as an anthropologist:

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[1] Coyote was the name given to the author by members of the club. The adoption of a "club name" such as Spider, Tiny, Crash, Blues, Terrible Tom, Snake, etc., is a practice that is characteristic of outlaw motorcycle clubs. While the whole lexicon of "biker talk" functions to mark them apart as a group, the use of pseudonyms is particularly effective in facilitating the incorporation and maintenance of "outlaw" roles and identities. The psychological efficacy of a club name results from the power of words acting as labels, to confer or augment personal prowess. For example, Dump became the name of a member of the Warlords M.C. whose back was broken when he was run over by a dump truck, but who lived to ride again. Club names furthermore promote personal traits whose ultimate meaning is group specific, e.g., most outlaw clubs will have either a Bear, Tiny, or Caveman who in all likelihood is the club Sgt.-at-Arms (enforcer). In addition, a club name will often highlight or publicize underlying group values. Thus, for example, Terry the Tramp or Vagabond denotes a freedom of the road ethic, while Dale the Butcher or Killer is suggestive of the transgression of social norms. The social function of the use of pseudonyms by secret organizations primarily lies in their potency to act as social border markers. The use of club names is restricted to members or close friends of the club; as such, they are verbal declarations of separateness which serve to reflect the club as a counterhierarchy to the established but now excluded outside social order. Historically, a club name can provide a shorthand to the mythology of the club. For example, an initiand of the Satans Choice M.C. inherited the name Gypsy from a member who had recently been killed in a highway "accident," and whose funeral became the focal point of a dramatic rite of solidarity and show of force on the part of the thirteen chapters - more than two hundred and sixty members - of the Choice. For the outlaw biker, then, a club name acts as a personal metaphor, a reminder that the interpretation and generation of social behaviour are to reflect the subcultural ethos that is symbolized.

> The Social Service Department was interested in learning about the nature of fighting clubs (i.e., the Vice Lords of Chicago) . . . I explained that I wanted to write a book about the Vice Lords, and offered to share any royalties with the group . . . . People knew what I was doing there, and why I was doing it. But I could *never fully participate* in the life of the streets. For one thing, *not everyone accepted me* to the same extent . . . to an extent, I was *always an outsider* - even to my close friends . . . . I was *not conversant* in street slang; and I *did not act properly* in certain social situations. This last factor was especially important.
>
> One of the greatest difficulties in my Vice Lord research was handling my emotional responses. On the streets of the ghetto I was functionally an infant, and like all infants I had to be taken care of. I did not know what was, and what was not, potentially dangerous; and *I did not understand the significance of most actions and many words* . . . on the very last night of my first summer's field work I mistook a challenge to fight for a friendly warning.
>
> I also had emotional responses to events that stemmed from own value system . . . certain aspects of Vice Lord life . . . I found personally distasteful . . . they made me upset and uneasy . . . . Later at times I found myself getting angry . . . . These reactions often made it *difficult for me to retain objectivity*. More important, I was never completely sure if Vice Lords sensed my reactions, and in turn reacted to them. Thus *I was not always certain if my feelings affected the events I was trying to observe* (Keiser, 1970:226-235). (Emphases mine).

(2) Structured Interviews - A structured interview was used to obtain the formal data employed in assessing the extent of informal club control. The basic problem was one of determining the variety of influences which Rebel subculture membership has upon members' everyday decision making in situations falling outside the club's network of social contexts. Specifically, the questionnaire (Appendix A) measures the overlap in the perceived options for action among members in the non-club domain of subsistence strategies, e.g., job choice. Subculture boundaries are posited at those points where the degree and number of overlapping responses are greatest. The structured questionnaire lent the study the elements of quantification and representativeness necessary to address the theoretical issue of informal control.

The questionnaire, which took three and one-half hours to complete, was administered to six (twenty-five percent) members of the Rebels M.C. None of the members that were solicited refused to take part. The questionnaire itself was divided into three major subsections:

(1) General background information. This section contained twelve orienting questions related to obtaining the age, marital status and degree of education of members, along with the nature of the circumstances leading to their contact/joining the club, the length of their membership, and executive positions if any that they have held.

(2) Encapsulization and integration of group social network. This section was attuned towards assessing the nature of the group's social network in terms of three definitive criteria:

(a) Connectedness of System - Nineteen questions attuned towards assessing the variety and types of contacts that fall within the scope of club influence. For example:

#6. If you were in need of money, from whom would you borrow it?

a) __________ b) __________ c) __________

(b) Self Sufficiency of System - Eleven questions measuring the number and nature of outside, non-club contacts. For example:

#21. Do you have any formal association with any other institution or organization such as a trade union, academic institution or anything of that nature?

If "Yes,"

(i) State category or type of group
(ii) Reason for joining
(iii) Type of contact situations
(iv) Frequency of contacts
(v) Nature of personal commitment

If "No,"

(i) State reason why not

(c) Personal Commitment to System - Twenty-seven questions which enquired into the individual member's interpretation of what the club's purpose is and what association with the club "means" to him. For example:

#31. If a conflict arose which resulted in a one-or-the-other choice between being a Rebel and the following, which would you choose?

(i)	Job	______	Rebel	✓
(ii)	Old lady	______	Rebel	______
(iii)	Family	______	Rebel	______
(iv)	Relatives	______	Rebel	______
(v)	Outside friends	______	Rebel	______

(3) Personal subsistence strategies. The third and final section of the structured interview was divided into two parts. The first part consisted of fifteen questions which established a profile of the member as far as his strategy of economic subsistence was concerned. For example:

#1. What kinds of things do you do to make money?

The second measured the relationship (degree of overlap) between presumed behaviour (how he felt other members would react to a certain job choice) and perceived personal behaviour (how he would react to a certain job choice).

(3) Key Informant Interviews - These interviews made two major contributions to the study: (1) the provision of supplementary information concerning the Rebels M.C.; and (2) acting as a source of comparative data about two other clubs of different "generic types" than the Rebels M.C.

First, the provision of supplementary data facilitated the analysis of various facets of the Rebels M.C. subculture in greater detail. This data was of particular importance for those organizational areas, such as club meetings wherein the author's participation was limited. The interviews took the format of detailed questionnaires. The questions were structured in terms of analyzing various sociocultural domains of club activity into frames, i.e., frame analysis. The frames used to dissect these sociocultural domains were organized either: (i) sequentially, wherein the questions solicited the sequence of events that occur with a high degree of regularity and therefore probability, such as the ordered stages through which the weekly club meeting progresses; or (ii) contextually, wherein the frame units form a discernable and emically valid whole, such as the political offices that comprise the club's executive structure.

The analysis of a domain of sociocultural activity in terms of context would typically be based on the following frames: (a) objects, (b) relations, (c) events, (d) goals, (e) plans of action, (f) rules. A more detailed outline of the contextual interrelationship of these frames is illustrated in Figure 1. The following is the "events" portion of a contextual analysis of the sociocultural domain, "Striking": Initiate Probation Period.

3. (i) What types of contact situations do you generally have with a striker?
    - (a) Club runs?
    - (b) Clubhouse?

DOMAIN: X

CATEGORY I - INDIVIDUAL VERBAL DATA
(One Informant)

IA - PERSONAL BEHAVIOUR
(Ego)

OBJECTS:	1.	Establishment of referent objects
	2.	Definition of referent objects
RELATIONS:	3.	How do referent objects interrelate?
	4.	How does subject relate to referent objects?
EVENTS:	5.	Under what circumstances does subject relate to referent objects?
	6.	What other elements are involved in circumstances?
GOALS:	7.	What are subject's purposes in engaging with referent objects, e.g., 4?
	8.	What are subject's purposes in engaging in cultural events, i.e., 5?
PLANS OF ACTION:	9.	How does subject go about achieving goals related to referent objects, i.e., 7?
	10.	How does subject go about achieving goals related to cultural events, i.e., 8?
RULES:		Are there any club rules related to 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10?
		Are there any personal rules related to 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10?

Figure 1. Contextual interrelationship of an analysis of a domain of sociocultural activity.

(c) Club meetings?
(d) Club functions, e.g., boogies?
(e) At the Kingsway?
(f) Personal, e.g., exchange of bike parts?
(g) Other?

(ii) What kinds of things would you ask a striker to do re:

(a) Club runs?
(b) Clubhouse?
(c) Club meetings?
(d) Club functions?
(e) At the Kingsway?
(f) Other?

(iii) Are there any other circumstances under which you would like to have the striker under surveillance?

(a) When the club has been challenged?
(b) When he has been challenged?
(c) When he is drunk?
(d) Other?

(iv) What are you looking for under these circumstances (see iii)?

(v) Are there any restrictions on what you could ask a striker to do?

(vi) Have you ever asked a striker to do something that you expected him to refuse to do?

(vii) Has a striker ever refused to perform a task for you?

Twelve sociocultural domains were analyzed in this manner. As mentioned earlier, the data obtained from this programmed analysis was of a supplementary nature. Furthermore, the sociocultural domains were those based on standardized knowledge with limited ambiguity, e.g., one would not anticipate variation in members' reports as to what officers formed the executive board. For these two reasons: (1) the questionnaires were applied to a limited number of members; the extent of overlap and variation in members' reports was not considered to be an issue; and (2) the questionnaire data was not subjected to formal analysis.

The second area of research in which the use of a key informant was invaluable was that of comparative analysis. Wee Albert was a former member of the Golden West M.C., a Canadian Motorcycle Association chartered club operating in Calgary. Wee Albert's association with both an outlaw and a chartered club provided some insightful dimensions of contrast. Another comparative dimension was added to the study when I met Don or "Gypsy" of the Satans Choice M.C. in Brampton, Ontario. Gypsy was on a one-year "leave of absence" from the club; he had a number of warrants for his arrest that were outstanding in Ontario and had come west to Edmonton to find work and "let things cool down." Gypsy provided a cultural inventory - eighty pages of notes - of the Satans Choice M.C. (Brampton); one of thirteen chapters that together were involved in interprovincial (Ontario-Quebec) and international organized crime. Don had been to jail twice already and had grown tired of being shot at during periods of interclub territorial warfare. Don subsequently decided not to return to the Choice. He married and subsequently settled in Calgary, trying his hand at several different careers. The last time this author heard from Don he was wrestling for Stu Hart's Stampede Wrestling.

Conclusion

A variety of different kinds of data, as described above, was collected over a period of several years. In synthesizing this data, the author had three objectives:

(1) to combine descriptive information, formal data, and theoretical insights in such a way that data and theory are not divorced but illuminate each other. This meant, for example, that rather than having a separate ethnographic section, ethnographic data are placed in

those sections of the thesis to which they are most relevant theoretically. In other words, the structure of the thesis is provided by the theory - not by the ethnography. At the same time, however, an attempt has been made to respect the integrity of the ethnographic information; it is not used simply to illustrate theory. The importance and relevance of theory can be assessed only in terms of how it works itself out in everyday life, with real people and in real situations. This author's goal has been to write the thesis in such a way that the theoretical insights will speak through the data.

(2) to write the dissertation in such a way that the club members themselves would be able to understand its message - and the implications of the message. Only if the researcher has succeeded in this task has he provided club members with the opportunity of exercising their rights as outlined in the lofty ethical guidelines discussed above. To accomplish this goal it has not been necessary to water down the theoretical insights or provide a simplified organizational structure. What has been necessary is to "ground" the theory (as described in point 1 above) and attempt to paint an "emically valid" picture of what it means to be a biker from the inside point of view. In other words, the goal has been a kind of "ethnographic realism."

(3) to communicate this ethnographic realism to the outsider - to the reader. This task has involved a degree of translation, a certain amount of hermeneutic manoeuvering. It also means walking a tight line between objective detachment and existential involvement. The cause of ethnographic realism would not be served by replicating the host society's view of outlaw clubs; at the same time, it has been necessary to avoid the temptation of romanticizing the club. This author hopes that what

has emerged is a picture of a group of real individuals who act rationally in terms of their individual and group goals - a picture of a group faced with the basic requirement made of any group, how to organize diversity within the group in such a way that a sense of identity, meaning, and common purpose is maintained.

Chapter 3

HISTORY OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Voluntary associations as adaptive social mechanisms have played a highly diverse role in the history of man. The tremendous variation that voluntary associations have exhibited in the form they assume, the function they serve and the frequency at which they occur at the various stages in the sociocultural evolution of man defies their being lumped together as a single generic type. Thus, while Robert H. Howie was instrumental in initially demonstrating the importance of voluntary associations, he was simultaneously unable to isolate any one immutable feature that was characteristic of all voluntary associations other than the tautalogical observation that they excluded outsiders. This singular lack of taxonomic success led him to conclude that: "Since sodalities (associations) represent a congeries of diverse associations set off by negative rather than positive criteria, they defy logical classification" (1948:295). In the literature following Lowie, one finds the terms sodality, organization, association, voluntary association, and formal voluntary association used synonomously to represent everything from military societies among Cheyenne hunter-gatherer bands, to age-sets among Nuer tribal villages, to (Poro) secret societies among Kpelle chiefdoms, to merchant guilds in European archaic states, through to fraternities, clubs, marketing associations and labour unions in industrial society.

Despite the obvious diversity in both form and function there are nevertheless a number of generalizations that can be cautiously applied in constructing an introductory frame of reference. First, membership in a voluntary association represents an *achieved* status. Entrance into a voluntary association is not acquired through birth as is membership in a kinship group (consanguinal or affinal ties), caste, or social class. Second, membership is *voluntary* insofar as the element of choice is involved, albeit all decisions we make as members of society are subject to differential degrees of societal, political, economic, or psychological pressures. In any event, voluntary associations can be differentiated from those social organizations such as polity which is the result of territorial calculation, or community which is the consequence of residential consideration. Third, voluntary associations are *reflexive of other social forms*. As a social phenomena, voluntary associations arise and develop a corporate structure in response to some manifest need or interest which other component structures fail to meet. Voluntary associations evolve quickly when compared with more rigid and permanent kinship-based groups such as domestic families or households, or larger institutional structures; and in that respect they reflect the immediate needs, strengths and weaknesses, and areas of change in the larger social organization. It is this fluidity of form, duration and function that underlies the initial and continuing importance of associations. Voluntary associations may arise to substitute for, replicate, integrate, complement, supplement, cross-cut or counteract smaller kinship-based units or larger institutional structures.

In order to establish any conceptual scheme that is capable of accommodating the variety of historical forms that voluntary associations exhibit, it becomes necessary to adopt an evolutionary perspective (Anderson, 1971; Banton, 1968; Service, 1964). The assumption underlying this strategy is that each stage of human sociocultural evolution - defined in terms of the predominant mode of subsistence or procurement strategy - in turn had its own characteristic social organization and concomitant range and type of associations which arose in response to the adaptational exigencies of that particular evolutionary stage. Working within an evolutionary perspective Banton postulated that "voluntary associations become more common and significant as societies advance in technology, complexity and scale; hence, their study is part of the study of social change" (1968:358).

At the technologically primitive hunter-gatherer level of small scale band society, the socioeconomic and political organizational requirements were adequately articulated through a kinship system which combined the resources of several households in order to accomplish the necessary task. Thus, at the band level of social organization, voluntary associations are rare and limited to those often seasonal occasions whereupon it is advantageous for such bands to augment their numbers; under these circumstances associations act as integrative mechanisms for establishing temporary sociopolitical alliances. At the tribal level, associations achieve their greatest social significance (i) by serving as educative, labour, hunting, ceremonial and military units, and (ii) by acting as horizontal solitary units cross-cutting ties of kinship and descent. Voluntary associations are less important at the chiefdom level where they assume an adjunctive role to a now defined central authority. At the level of primitive and archaic states, the number and salience of voluntary associations is negatively correlated with the presence of an all-encompassing centralized control. At the industrialized nation state level, there is a dramatic increase in the variety of forms, types of functions, and the frequency at which voluntary associations occur. At the industrial level of sociocultural integration, the primitive state apparatus is supplemented by a "complex network of specialized, interdependent occupations" (Service, 1964:181). This combination of industrialism and urbanization along with the substitution of a market economy for a subsistence economy leads to unprecedented cultural heterogeneity. Sociocultural complexity becomes evident in increased population size and density, a multiplicity of roles based on common interest contract as opposed to an individual's origin and descent, and in economic surplus leading to a proliferation of non-subsistence activities, all of which results in an efflorescence of voluntary associations to meet a diverse range of common interest.

Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs as Adaptive Social Mechanism

The problem of alienation: Evolution's simple twist of fate.

Technological innovations have enabled man to advance from band society, based on primitive hunting and gathering, to modern industrialized urbanism. One necessary demand of this technological advancement was the creation of elaborate socio-politico-economic systems in order to manage that technology. One unfortunate result was that in attempting to achieve a balance between the needs of the individual and the requirements of the social structure, the integrity of the individual was often sacrificed. Specifically, in order to maintain an urban technocracy, it becomes necessary to define and administer man as an autonomous unit, separate from his environment. However, when the environment from which he is separated includes other people, his social institutions, and ultimately himself, we have the making of a severe problem: alienation. The irony of human technological and sociological evolution then is the paradox that as man becomes more physiologically crowded and technologically omnipotent, he becomes more psychologically alone and impotent.

The sociological and psychological dimension: Cause and effect. The theme of institutional differentiation leading to problems of psychological distance is certainly not a novel motif to the social sciences. Studies of alienation are representative of a long and enduring intellectual history that begins with G.W.F. Hegel laying down the foundations for alienation as a metaphysical concept in "The Civic Community" (1896), and continues with contemporary studies that place the concept in a more rigid techno-sociological context such as J.M. Shepard's (1977) "Technology, Alienation and Job Satisfaction." A cursory review of the literature reveals that alienation is most effectively approached in terms of isolating underlying sociological causes and revealing the nature of resulting psychological effects.

The sociological dimension of alienation can be defined as those social conditions that reduce an individual's ability to appreciate his position in a given society by preventing him from participating in a meaningful way in its practices (Davis, K.E., 1970). These social conditions lead to the psychological dimension of alienation: the individual's experience of those social conditions which prevents him from achieving an existential identity that encompasses the totality of his existence. Alienation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon both in terms of its origin and its effects. Yet the social conditions that cause, and the psychological states that constitute alienation all reflect the basic feature of an individual's inability to achieve self-fulfillment. Isolation from meaningful social participation and the subsequent psychological experience of alienation may result in a personal search for self-authenticity. The alienated individual may seek out alternate social relationships wherein meaningful social participation and personal identity can be realized, such as membership in a formal voluntary association.

Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs: Group Isolation as a Solution to Personal Alienation

It is perhaps no overstatement to propose that it is these factors of alienation that result in urban areas being likely locales for both the formation and maintenance of formal voluntary associations. An outlaw motorcycle club was observed to act as a collective solution to the problem of alienation by providing meaningful participation on three levels of sociocultural reality; institutional, interpersonal, and personal (value). On a personal level, the outlaw club provides a cultural ethos, including a set of core values, which makes it possible for a member to locate and declare himself as a distinct entity within a meaningful context. On an interpersonal level, a social network of highly committed individuals provides reinforcement for those core values and enables a member to express himself emotionally through the formation of intense bonds of friendship. On an institutional level of participation, core values and intense social bonds are given a medium of expression through formally organized activities. The theme that underlies this collective solution is that by creating explicit institutional, interpersonal, and personal borders, individuals are able to establish a calculable and meaningful existence. For example, the intergroup opposition that underlies and is symbolized in much of the activities of the outlaw club, e.g., "biker" versus "straight society," leads to intragroup opposition in the form of the "brotherhood." While the social borders established within this subcultural frame of reference theoretically restrict a member's range of behaviour, that same border-making process enables members to reduce their world to knowable and appreciable proportions:

> I'd say society stinks in a lot of respects. At least with the club I know what's happening. Whereas out there, I don't know what's happening. I don't know who to turn to and I don't know who not to (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

Through the integration of these three levels of participation - institutional, interpersonal, and personal - membership in a motorcycle club emerges as the foundation of a total lifestyle.

Chapter 4

HISTORY OF OUTLAW MOTORCYCLE CLUBS

Harley-Davidson: The Evolutionary Cycle

The industrial revolution brought with it a new technology based on the exploitation of a new source of energy: fossil fuels. At the turn of the century experimentation with the automobile established the viability of the internal combustion engine as a means of transportation. The motorcycle emerged from this innovative era in the embryonic concept of mounting a motor on a bicycle. Steam-powered prototypes had been tested as early as 1868, and an American made steam velocipede with a gasoline burner was built in 1883. The first combustion engine motorcycle made its debut in Germany - Daimler's Mottorrad - circa 1885. The original "mass-production" motorcycle, the Hildebrand Wolfmuller, appeared in Germany in the early 1880's. The first commercially produced motorcycle in the United States was manufactured by the E.R. Thomas Motor Company in 1901. Several other manufacturers quickly entered the realm of commercial production in the early 1900's: Hendee, Pierce, Yale, Henderson, Pope, Manson, Merke, Excelsior. Several dozen more manufacturers were to follow suit over the coming decades, a total of seventy in all. Only two survived: (1) the Hendee Manufacturing Company which at one point in time became the largest motorcycle manufacturer in the world by marketing the Indian motorcycle; and (2) the Harley-Davidson Motorcycle Company founded in 1903. In 1953 production of the Indian motorcycle - popularized as the "crimson red steed" - ceased; this left Harley-Davidson as the only remaining American manufacturer and "Milwaukee Iron" as the sole surviving made-in-America motorcycle.

The appeal of the motorcycle was based on its versatility, off-road manoeuverability, economy, speed and exhilaratory effect on the rider. The motorcycle was never to challenge seriously the automobile as a practical mode of transportation; its destiny was to be an exciting mode of transportation. Just as the motorcycle had its beginnings in Continental Europe so also did the sport of motorcycling. By the turn of the century, attempts were being made to organize motorcycle racing on an international level. On June 8, 1904, a group of motorcyclists met in the township of Pacov, in what is now Czechoslovakia, and founded the Federation Internationale Motorcycliste (F.I.M.) - the first voluntary association based on motorcycling. The F.I.M. remains today the international coordinating body for motorcycling and motorcycle competition, with its headquarters in Paris, France. The Federation of American Motorcyclists (F.A.M.) was formed in the early 1900's and was after supplanted by the American Motorcycle Association (A.M.A.) founded in 1924. The Canadian Motorcycle Association (C.M.A.) was founded in 1946, and incorporated in 1957. Both the C.M.A. and the A.M.A. are recognized "as the supreme controlling body of the sport of motorcycling" by affiliated clubs and individual members in Canada and the United States, respectively. The C.M.A. and the A.M.A. are themselves affiliated with the Federation Internationale Motorcycliste. A motorcycle club that is registered with the C.M.A. or A.M.A. obtains a club charter and is considered a legal organization by those parent bodies, if not it is classified as "outlaw."

Gypsy Tours to Outlaw Menace: The Evolution of a Subculture

In the latter half of the 1940's Harley-Davidson made a practice of running two-page ads, such as the one below, promoting American Motorcycle Association "gypsy tours."

> Its Gypsy Tour and Rally time again - days of fun and sport for motorcycle riders and their pals. Plan now to take in the Tour scheduled for your section. You'll have the time of your life. Games in which you can participate, club contests, thrilling competition events, barbecue eats, the camaraderie of hundreds of splendid fellow motorcyclists - that's the annual Gypsy Tour and Rally you can't afford to miss.
>
> See your dealer or club officers for the date and place of your Gypsy Tour and Rally. Some Tours will be held right away, some later, and some toward fall. Then arrange to ride along with the bunch of happy boys and girls going from your town or section and your joys and pleasures will be multiplied. And as a momento of the occasion, the American Motorcycle Association is presenting all members in good standing with a beautiful award - a registered key ring for the men and a bracelet for the ladies, both featuring the A.M.A. insignia. For a grand and wonderful time we'll see you at the Gypsy Tour and Rally! (Harley-Davidson Motor Co. advertisement, 1947).

These annual tours were held on a nationwide basis; they were relatively commonplace and socially acceptable insofar as the motorcycle activities such as hill climbs and races were usually incorporated within the context of local festivities. On July 4, 1947, the A.M.A., in conjunction with the affiliate Salinas Ramblers Motorcycle Club and the Hollister Veterans Memorial Park Association, sponsored a gypsy tour to the small rural town of Hollister, a California farming community of approximately four thousand. The Hollister (motorcycle) hill climb and races were nothing unusual in themselves; they had been held before and had provided a contemporary dimension to the annual Independence Day activities.

However, two developments singled out the Hollister gypsy tour of 1947 to be a hallmark in motorcycle club history.

First, Hollister became the scene of the world's first "motorcycle riot." The scenario developed in almost textbook fashion. Instead of the expected several hundred motorcyclists an estimated two to four thousand arrived. The number of motorcyclists was large in comparison to the native population, and the influx of cycle transients severely overtaxed the town's tourist facilities. As a result, there was a general milling of motorcyclists in the streets and bars. In addition to the presence of A.M.A. clubs and members, there were non-affiliated clubs such as the Booze Fighters and their parent club the 13 Rebels, the Galloping Gooses, Satans Sinners, Satans Daughters, Winos, along with independent riders. This non-competitive element had no vested interests in the festivities that went beyond having a good time. They inevitably began to entertain themselves in the only manner available under the circumstances: drinking and racing in the streets. The ineffective efforts of a numerically insufficient seven-man police force, in conjunction with the sometimes provocative vigilante tactics of indignant local residents, caused the motorcyclists to coalesce as a group (mob). The unruly behaviour lasted for approximately thirty-six hours - July 4th to 5th - and ended with the departure of many of the parties on the evening of the first day and the arrival of an auxillary police force of thirty-two officers. By contemporary standards the amount of property damage and civic duress was minimal.

> There were only about fifty arrests, not too bad out of approximately 3000 bikers, and apparently no one was killed, maimed or even gang-kissed. What fighting there was, was mostly confined to the bikers themselves and it would appear that the daughters of the town burghers were, for the most part, safe from the ravaging huns (Carman, in Big Bike, 1978:56).

However, while the rioting and debauchery were somewhat limited in scope and degree, the publicity that the incident received wasn't.

Second, the national exposure that was given the Hollister incident resulted in the Stigmatizing of an Image: the motorcyclist as deviant. On July 21st, Life Magazine, the largest national magazine with a circulation of over five million, featured an unflattering picture of an obese motorcyclist laid back on his Harley chugging beer, with a bottle in either hand and many more empties scattered around his machine. The caption under the photograph read:

> On the Fourth of July weekend 4,000 members of a motorcycle club roared into Hollister, California, for a three day convention. They quickly tired of ordinary motorcycle thrills and turned to more exciting stunts. Racing their vehicles down the main street and through traffic lights, they rammed into restaurants and bars, breaking furniture and mirrors. Some rested a while by the curb (see photo). Others hardly paused. Police arrested many for drunkeness and indecent exposure but could not restore order. Frankly, after two days, the cyclists left with a brazen explanation. "We like to show off. It's just a lot of fun." But Hollister's police chief took a different view. Wailed he, "It's just one hell of a mess" (Life, 1974:31).

Life Magazine's brief chronicle contained at least four sensationalistic distortions: (1) the participants were not members of one club; as of 1980, no one club approaches a membership of 4,000 . . . the Outlaws M.C. are the second largest outlaw organization in North America with twenty-seven chapters in the eastern United States which roughly translates into something less than eight hundred members; (2) of the four thousand motorcyclists in attendance apparently only five hundred participated in the main street cavorting; (3) the "many arrests" that Life referred to in actuality totalled thirty-eight or less than one percent of the cyclists; (4) according to Lee Gutkind (1974) there was no mention of "indecent exposure" in the press service wire story issued July 6th on which the Life description was based. According to the motorcycle nostalgists of Early Riders (1977), "the arrests for indecent exposure mentioned in the Life article resulted from the guys getting rid of the beer they had been drinking, right in front of God and everybody."

Life Magazine's account started a mass media chain reaction which saw the Hollister incident grow considerably in its dramatic portrayal, and the image of the motorcyclist as deviant become more defined and immutable. In 1949, Frank Rooney wrote a short narrative entitled "Cyclist Raid," based on Life's photograph and a one hundred and fifteen word documentary. In 1951, "Cyclist Raid" was published in Harper's magazine. The Harper serial was read by Stanley Kramer, a Hollywood producer, who immortalized the "motorcycle riot" in the movie The Wild One, released in 1953. The anti-hero image of the motorcyclist was cast in the person of Marlon Brando, while Lee Marvin personified the motorcyclist as villain. The movie was to titillate the American media with its "factual" account of a "menacing element of modern youth":

> A little bit of the surface of contemporary American life is scratched in Stanley Kramer's 'The Wild One' . . . and underneath is opened an ugly, debauched and frightening view of a small, but particularly significant and menacing element of modern youth . . . .
>
> The subject of its examination is a swarm of youthful motorcyclists who ride through the country in wolf-pack fashion and terrorize the people of one small town . . . these 'wild ones' resent discipline and show an aggressive contempt for common decency and the police. Reckless and vandalistic, they live for sensations, nothing more - save perhaps the supreme sensation of defying the normal world (Crowther, The New York Times, December 31, 1953). (Emphasis mine).

> Audiences who like their facts dished up with realism, no matter how painful, might pay attention to 'The Wild One' - a picture that is factual . . . . It displays a group of hoodlums, motorcyclists who ride around the country with a contempt for the law and a fondness for annoying people, who take over a small town . . . a slice of contemporary Americana at its worst . . . . (Hartung, Commonweal, February 5, 1954). (Emphasis mine).

These "factual" accounts were based on viewing a Stanley Kramer movie production whose script was written by John Paxton, which was based on Kramer's reading of Frank Rooney's serialed short story in Harper's magazine, which was based on Rooney's reading of Life's one hundred and fifteen word report - complete with photo - which in turn was construed by adding four distortions to a brief press wire release. However, as Life was to point out twenty-five years after the Hollister riot, the significance of the media chain reaction was its very real consequences:

> The Wild One became a milestone in movie history, launching the cult of gang violence in films. It also helped create an image of motorcycling that non-violent bike riders have been trying to live down for a quarter of a century now (Life Magazine, 1972).

The major tenet of labelling theory is that deviance and the societal reaction to deviance always involves the process of social definition. With "painful realism" the mass media had defined the motorcyclist phenomenon as "social menace"; it was accepted by the public as a "factual" confirmation of a long-standing suspicion. The whole process was an empirical reiteration of W.J. Thomas' dictum that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

There is a tendency to view the Hollister motorcycle riot and its subsequent media coverage as the genesis of the outlaw biker: "You might say this was the beginning of the outlaw biker, 'outlaw' meaning a non-A.M.A. member or club outlawed from A.M.A.-sanctioned events" (Kimzey, 1977:196). "The motorcycle gangs, like the hippies, are a phenomenon of the mid-twentieth century" (Holt, 1972:12). However, beneath the surface there is a basic continuity of older traditions and patterns whose connections are traceable to the inception of the motorcycle at the turn of the century. The motorcycle as a symbolic border marker between acceptance of the status quo and subcultural badge of indicating the lionization and defiance of its members was as efficacious in the early 1900's as it is today. In an article entitled "The Rise of the Motorcycle" printed in Harpers Weekly, Batsch (1909) recorded that:

> They would ride in city or open country with their mufflers cut out, or in numerous cases absolutely devoid of muffling attachment. In some instances it was the rider's desire for noise, or to bring attention to the fact that he owned a motorcycle; in other instances it was the owner's desire for more power; but whichever the case, this offence in principle and in conjunction with that of unsuitable attire has done more to retard the advancement of motorcycling in general than all other arguments combined.

The motorcycle continued to assert itself as a symbol of individuality and masculinity, of isolation and freedom; in the coming decades these symbolic dimensions became more defined and definite. The Hollister incident further romanticized the image that non-affiliated (outlaw) clubs had of themselves and further polarized the media and the public in their reaction to the motorcycle subculture. In particular, it set the historical stage for the rise to notorious infamy of the Hells Angels in the 1960's.

Outlaw motorcycle clubs emerged as identity centres providing meaning and motivation that focussed upon the role of riding a motorcycle. The major consequences of this organizational integration was that it in effect required the social structural differentiation of these groups from the rest of society.

Originally a post Second World War phenomenon, largely confined to the west coast area of the United States, outlaw motorcycle clubs have diffused into Canada (late 1950's), and more recently emerged in Continental Europe (1974-). The Rebels M.C. arose from the political vacuum that was created in the city of Edmonton in 1969 when police "surveillance" led to the demise of the then Coffin Cheaters M.C. and the Sinners M.C. The Rebels M.C. - classified by local police authorities as a "moderate" group - have in conjunction with the Warlords M.C. (origin 1969), maintained a tight territorial rein over outlaw motorcycle club activities in the city of Edmonton since that time.

There has been no attempt to disguise the data when making references to various demographic regions; the names of the clubs and their locations are actual. When making references to individual members, actual "club names" - pseudonyms such as Caveman or Blues - were employed in some instances, while alter pseudonyms were substituted in those cases that demanded an added degree of anonymity.

SECTION II

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PERSONAL IDENTITY: JOINING THE BROTHERHOOD

The purpose of this section is to provide both description and analysis of that organization of processes involved in the transposition of an individual from "outsider" to "patch holder." Becoming a member of an outlaw motorcycle club includes the processes of selection, socialization, and ritualized incorporation. These processes become manifest within the context of four distinct and cumulative stages. Chapter 5 interprets the "biker" as a social category and then describes the screening procedure and collective expectations that determine whether initial biker-to-club contact situations perpetrate further interaction of a more permanent nature. Chapter 6 documents the encapsulization of a biker into the club's extended social network through the formation of affective interpersonal bonds with members. Chapter 7 details the period of probationary membership that precedes the taking of a formal vote on membership. Chapter 8 particularizes the structure and content of the rite of passage that announces the incorporation of the individual into the group.

Chapter 5 - Stage 1: Biker
Chapter 6 - Stage 2: Friend of the Club
Chapter 7 - Stage 3: Striker
Chapter 8 - Stage 4: Initiate

Chapter 5

STAGE 1: BIKER

"Our officers have been largely unsuccessful in their attempts to infiltrate these motorcycle gangs . . . " (W.T.F. Sherman, Superintendent, O Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, C.B.C. interview, June 22, 1977).

A motorcycle club is not capable of self-perpetuity and therefore must recruit individuals from outside the club. The Rebels M.C., however, would never accept a stranger, even a long-standing bonafide Harley biker, as someone to associate with on an immediate basis. Conversely, trying to gain access into the operations of an outlaw motorcycle club would in most cases prove to be a long, arduous, and risky venture for anyone who was making the attempt for purely "professional" reasons. Depending on the qualities of the individual and the nature of the club involved, getting one's "colours," the club emblem that signifies membership and full participation, could require anywhere from two months to two years. Becoming a member involves the processes of selection, socialization, and ritualized incorporation. These processes can be viewed in terms of four distinct and cumulative stages: (1) being a biker; (2) becoming a friend of the club; (3) striking; (4) initiation. These transitional stages, the behaviour associated with each stage, and the commensurate change in the individual's relationship to the club, are outlined in Figure 2.

TRANSITIONAL STAGE	1 BIKER	2 FRIEND OF CLUB	3 STRIKER	4 INITIATE	5 COLOURS/ PATCH HOLDER
BEHAVIOUR INVOLVED	Degree of shared knowledge and acceptance of behaviour and values associated with motorcycling	Formation of affective bonds with members	Probationary period	Ritualized incorporation	Membership
INDIVIDUAL'S RELATIONSHIP TO CLUB	Categorical Relationship sense of collectivity no interaction with club/members is implied	Interpersonal Ties member of group social network	Institutional Ties member of formal group network		

Figure 2. Steps in becoming a Rebel Motorcycle Club member.

Biker - Knowledge, behaviour and values associated with motorcycling. Being a biker is a necessary prerequisite to establishing any form of meaningful social contact with members of an outlaw club, i.e., becoming a "friend of the club." A minimal definition of a biker is an individual who owns a motorcycle, participates in the sport, and who has some degree of knowledge and acceptance of the values associated with the sport of motorcycling. The specific content of what constitutes a biker will vary from club to club, and amounts to the collective expectations of its members. These expectations reflect the function the club serves for its members, ranging from a C.M.A. club sponsoring weekend moto cross competitions, to an outlaw club forming the basis of a lifestyle.

Biker as a Social Category

A social psychological denominator common to all men is the utilization of aspects of the material world as extensions of personality. North Americans are certainly no exceptions to this rule, Like members of all other cultures, they use their possessions to create and symbolize an identity, personal quality, or social position that they feel embody or would aspire to. It is in this sense that one's vehicle is never merely one's mode of transportation. Historically, the motorcycle has constituted a symbolic affront to a basically four-wheeled culture. Relative to the automobile, it is an impractical, dangerous, loud and gregarious, conspicuous yet not prestigious, vehicle. As such, the motorcycle represents a divergence from those technocratic values that underlie the rational, secure, sensible, good things of middle-class society. The motorcycle as a symbolic border marker between acceptance of the status quo and subcultural lionization was as efficacious in the early 1900's as it is today. In an article entitled "The Rise of the Motorcycle," printed in Harpers Weekly, Batsch (1909) recorded that:

> They would ride in city or open country with their mufflers cut out, or in numerous cases absolutely devoid of muffling attachment. In some instances it was the rider's desire for noise, or to bring attention to the fact that he owned a motorcycle; in other instances it was the owner's desire for more power; but whichever the case, this offence in principle and in conjunction with that of unsuitable attire has done more to retard the advancement of motorcycling in general than all other arguments combined.

The theme of "offence in principle" and "unsuitable attire" received contemporary articulation in "Myth of Motorcycle Hog," an essay by Hughes (1971) in Time Magazine:

> Has any means of transport ever suffered a worse drubbing than the motorcycle? In the 17 years since Stanley Kramer put Marlon Brando astride a Triumph in The Wild One (1953), big bikes and those who ride them have been made into apocalyptic images of aggression and revolt - Greasy Rider on an iron horse with 74 cu.in. lungs and ape-hanger bars, booming down the freeway to rape John Doe's daughter behind the white dapboard bank: swastikas, burnt rubber, crab lice and filthy denim . . . . As an object to provoke linked reactions of desire and outrage, the motorcycle has few equals - provided it is big enough . . . . Anti-social? Indeed, yes (1971:41).

It was this tainted image that faced Japanese manufacturers who wanted to capture the North American middle-class motorcycle market. Their major stumbling block, of course, was that they would have to create a market where none existed. Their high degree of success was due in no small part to an advertisement campaign that was attuned less to exposing the quality of their machinery than it was to convincing a middle-class individual that he could ride a motorcycle without jeopardizing his social position or exposing some major character flaw to his neighbours. Billboards and magazine ads would display a clean-cut male in a business suit commuting to work on his motorcycle along with the reassuring caption: "You meet the nicest people on a Honda."

Perhaps more to the point was a full page ad, placed by Honda in the prestigious pages of National Geographic, entitled: "Motorcycles for people who think they hate motorcycles." Today, Japanese manufacturers maintain a constant vigil, ready to exorcise any public relations' devil that might tarnish the image and cause a subsequent drop in sales. What follows are excerpts from a letter sent by the president of Kawasaki Midwest to Yamaha International Corporation. The letter solicits cooperation in order to styme the efforts of ABATE, an organization dedicated to the repeal of mandatory helmet laws:

> Mr. Merle Karst
> Yamaha International Corp.
> 6600 Orangethorpe
> Buena Park, California 90620
>
> Dear Mr. Karst
>
> For the past two years, we have sat back and watched groups such as ABATE grow not only in membership but political influence. Who could have imagined the influence a small but vociferous group could obtain? Because of their efforts, many states have repealed or amended their helmet laws . . . in the long, this will be a giant step backwards for all of us.
>
> The havoc being created in many states is causing legislators to look at the motorcycle industry in a very unfavourable light. Although helmet sales contribute a small portion towards profits, this is not what Kawasaki Midwest is concerned with. Rather we are concerned with the motorcyclist's image and welfare.
>
> As you and your dealers are well aware, one of our major enemies is bad press. When a person is killed on a motorcycle, the effect is felt at the retail level . . . . Will mothers or wives allow their sons, husbands or daughters to ride a motorcycle when they repeatedly read of fatal accidents . . . ?
>
> Together we can save the industry or we can sit and watch the laws and the insurance companies peck away at it until we are back in the dark ages of the 50's . . . .
>
> Sincerely
>
> Kawasaki Midwest
> David P. Mehney, President (Easyriders, 1978, 56, 39).

The "dark ages of the 50's" that Mehney referred to were the days before the era of the Japanese enlightenment, when the middle-class motorcycle option was not to be had. It was during these "dark" days that, aside from a number of British models, motorcycle meant Harley-Davidson. The Harley demanded a heavy financial investment during a time when a second vehicle was a rarity. It meant learning how to repair the machine by oneself and being a master at mechanical improvization, for motorcycle repair shops were few and far between. The ingenuity of these improvizations ranged from being capable of making electrical connections using bailing wire, to knowing that one could substitute a spark plug from the right year Chevy sedan. It was out of these "dark ages" that the Harley-Davidson emerged as the largest, most powerful motorcycle. The machine carried certain denotations and connotations that became a tradition, and which crystallize in the form of a stereotype of the individual that rides one:

> Getting ahead is getting more, and bigger is always better; money is power, size is power, and he-men ride on Harleys. We never learned these rules but we know them nonetheless . . . . There's an irresistible equation, known but never consciously learned: fuzzy-cheeked 97 pound weaklings run errands on Whizzer mopeds, but red-blooded, hairy-chested he-men ride Harley-Davidsons.
>
> Where did that notion come from? It's all part of growing up male in America (Schilling, P., in Cycle Magazine, 1978).

Given these credentials, it is not surprising that the Harley is often chosen as the vehicle of the media for portraying an anti-hero folk image, from Jimmy Dean and Marlon Brando, to Elvis Presley and Peter Fonda. The tradition of Harley-Davidson being the vehicle of the "social deviant" begins with the early "gypsies" of the depression era of the 30's, and extends to the "outlaws" of today.

For members of the Rebels M.C., ownership of a Harley-Davidson was not sufficient in itself to make one a biker, but it was the necessary and only place to start:

Steve (Rebels M.C.):	English bikes I suppose I could put up with; but the Jap stuff, fuck it!
Author:	Any particular reason why?
Steve (Rebels M.C.):	Yeah. In the whole concept of outlaw motorcycle clubs, the Harley-Davidson has always been the supreme bike. Any Joc on the street can ride a Yamaha and that don't make him nothing. You know, he's just not there. If he's on a Harley, he might be all right.

In addition to owning a Harley, being a biker required the establishment of that motorcycle as one of life's priorities:

> The life of a biker to me is riding. His bike is his first obligation no matter what else is wrong. Like if he has three dollars to his name and his bike needs an oil change, then his bike gets an oil change. If I need a pair of shoes and the bike needs a tire, I'll bum a pair of shoes off one of my brothers and I'll go out and buy a tire for my bike. If my bike needs 50¢ worth of gas and I want a beer, I'll put 50¢ worth of gas in my bike and worry about where I'm going to find the beer later. A biker is a biker. To me he lives and thinks bikes twenty-four hours a day (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

If an individual has these minimal qualities, he is in a position to make contact with the club.

Outlaw clubs minimize their interaction with the host community. Unlike conventional or C.M.A. clubs they do not solicit members by advertising in Cycle Canada Magazine; nor does one find their telephone number listed in the directory. Locating the club would prove to be difficult or impossible for most individuals, if it were not for the "club bar." The club bar is a public bar or hotel tavern that the members frequent on a regular basis. As a result of this aspect of public accessibility, the club bar is where the majority of outsiders make their initial contacts with the Rebels. Other contact situations would include: chance meetings in motorcycle shops; random encounters while riding the streets; and prior friendship ties with members. Whether these initial contacts lead to future interaction with the club depends largely on the individual being evaluated positively in terms of the members' collective expectations of being a "righteous" biker.

The salient factors in this initial screening process become evident in the following contact situation which took place in the club bar. The incident, in which this author was directly involved, began when a fellow sitting at an adjacent table started talking to the researcher. Rene, a French Canadian, began asking questions about the Rebels and expressed interest in meeting the club. He had ridden his motorcycle from Montreal to Edmonton and had come part of the way (to Winnipeg) with the Montreal and Toronto chapters of the Satans Choice M.C. Given these credentials, the author made the decision to invite him to sit at a Rebel table. The members nearest to the investigator first questioned the initial invitation, then immediately proceeded to scrutinize the outsider:

Gerry (Rebels M.C.):	Where's this guy from, Coyote?
Author:	From Montreal.
Gerry (Rebels M.C.):	Does he ride a bike?
Author:	Yeah, that's what the man says.
Gerry (Rebels M.C.):	What kind of a bike do you ride?
Rene:	I ride a chopped '64 panhead.[2]

---

[2] The term 'panhead' refers to the shape of the motorcycle's cylinder heads, e.g., flathead, knucklehead, shovelhead, and denotes the make, model, and era of production of various Harley-Davidson motorcycles, in this case a 1964 Harley-Davidson FLH Duo-glide that had been customized or 'chopped'.

Gerry (Rebels M.C.): That sounds pretty righteous.

During the ensuing conversation Rene showed us the scars from a deep cut in his wrist. While labouring for the CNR in Edmonton, some metal had fallen on his right hand, severing a number of nerves. As a result he was no longer able to operate the throttle of his motorcycle, which required a twisting action with the right hand. Rene said that he loved to ride and that he was still determined to ride his panhead home. Although he could no longer twist his wrist he was capable of opposing his fingers to his palm, the action required to operate the clutch which is located on the left-hand side of the motorcycle. In order to solve his problem, the French Canadian biker said he would switch the location of the clutch and brake mechanisms. Rene was going to make the clutch-brake alteration along with other mechanical improvizations by himself, and asked where he could find the necessary parts. Aside from owning a Harley the author's guest had displayed traits of self-reliance, intestinal fortitude, and devotion to biking, all of these being integral aspects of the group ideal of a biker. Gerry appeared satisfied: "That's pretty cool." Another Rebel, Danny, then proceeded to write out the address of Brothers Custom Cycle Ltd., a motorcycle shop owned by two of the members: "Go down and see them if you need parts." Rene stuffed the address into his jeans and went on to talk about the Satans Choice Motorcycle Club (Toronto, Ontario):

> They are beautiful people. They don't hurt anybody. When I was with them the president said, "Don't be an asshole and hit anybody." But if somebody starts something with them, they finish it. What else are you going to do, eh? You've got to stand up for what you believe. If someone hurts you or your bike, you've got to fight. You've got to be a man. And it takes a strong man to have strong ideas and keep them.

The code of behaviour expressed in Rene's comments closely reflected the group identity held by members of the Rebels M.C.: an anti-hero type image, participating in an unconventional organization and lifestyle that is subjected to social censure and moral condemnation. Perhaps most important, however, is a willingness to maintain that lifestyle with a degree of commitment that leaves no room for compromise despite the inevitable adversity that accompanies it. If an individual has committed himself to biking there is a good possibility that he can develop an additional commitment to an organization that revolves around that activity. At this point in the conversation, Danny was quite happy with the visitor's credentials. He slammed a beer down in front of Rene and said: "Drop down to the shop to just talk, or if you need a hand with anything at all." The proposition to "just talk" and the offer of assistance by Danny, amounted to an invitation for Rene to further his interaction with members with the prospect of becoming a friend of the club.

Chapter 6

STAGE 2: FRIEND OF THE CLUB

Unlike most formal voluntary organizations, a high degree of interpersonal compatibility precedes and is a prerequisite to establishing any form of organizational ties with the Rebels M.C. If an unknown biker did approach the club with the intention of striking, he would be told to "hang around for a couple of weeks" and first become a "friend of the club." Friends of the club are bikers who have no official club affiliation, and who may have no intentions of ever striking for the club, yet have formed friendship ties with any number of the members. As a result, these friends of the club are invited to attend club parties, runs, and related club activities. As a collective unit these friends of the club become part of the Rebels' social network by virtue of the affective bonds formed with members. Thus the next major development, subsequent to meeting the members' collective expectations of being a biker, is becoming part of the club's extended social network. This process begins with the establishment of a dyadic, one-to-one, friendship relationship with at least one other member.

This initial dyadic friendship relationship is tantamount to unofficial sponsorship and is necessary insofar as the Rebels M.C. is a closed secret organization. As such, future interaction, whether it be riding with the club on a "run," a motorcycle tour, or drinking with members in a bar, requires an invitation by at least one member, if not a vote of approval by all members. For example, in order to visit the clubhouse informally, requires both invitation and escort by a member. While the majority of Rebel runs were closed events, a number were open to include invited guests. In order to attend, your name had to be brought up at a meeting by a member who considered you "righteous" enough to sponsor your invitation. The prospect was then discussed by members and voted on, two negative votes were sufficient to overrule the invitation (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules). Success in getting an invitation approved depended on how well you were represented by the member who endorsed the invitation, and how many members you had gotten to know on a casual basis. However, even if an individual received twenty-five of a possible twenty-five votes of approval, and came along on a run, there was always the possibility that any member who felt the guest was "fucking things up," could ask the member who recommended the invitation to tell the guest to leave (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules). During these initial encounters, when not all the members have gotten to know or accepted the prospect, even the seemingly innocuous act of joining members for a beer in the club bar, can fall under the scrutiny of a wary member:

> If someone is sitting at the table that I don't know, and he's sitting beside one of my brothers, I'll go up to my brother and say: "Well? Who is this guy? I don't know him!" You know, point blank (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

As members get to know and trust the prospect, invitations become more frequent and more diffuse in terms of both the members who give the invitations, and the activities involved. Furthermore, the screening becomes less stringent and of an unofficial nature. For example, after spending two weeks riding with twelve members on a Stag

Run from Edmonton to Victoria, the researcher received an invitation to come to a clubhouse bar-b-que by Whimpy, a member of the executive board. The invitation was given prior to the club meeting at which the bar-b-que was to be discussed, that is, prior to any official discussion about who would be allowed to come. When this author questioned Wee Albert about this, he said: "Whimpy should have at least waited till after the meeting (before issuing the invitation); but you've been nothing but good with the club and I can't see anyone objecting."

As the prospect gets to know members on an individual basis, interaction with these members extends beyond the boundaries of formal club activities to include personal activities. For example, at one clubhouse party, the investigator repaired a flat tire on Jim's motorcycle. As Wee Albert had said: "It sure is drunk out tonight!," and everyone was too "wasted" to even consider detaching the back wheel, breaking the bead on the tire, removing the tube, scrounging around for patches, etc. Luckily, the investigator carried a can of Flat Proof in his saddlebags enabling him to seal the leak from the inside of the tire in a matter of minutes. Jim brought this author over a quart of beer and said: "Why don't you and Sandy come over Sunday afternoon and my old lady will cook us this goose I shot last week?" The author accepted the invitation, and after dinner, took the other three out to a movie. While waiting in line, Jim pulled out a plastic bag from his leathers, and proceeded to roll a couple of reefers of marijuana, which was smoked to pass the time away. It was during these types of situations that a friend of the club would get a good idea as to whether or not he was compatible with members in terms of personal values, e.g., the risk involved in publicly committing an illegal act. The commission of such an act would simultaneously reinforce the individual's identification as a biker and differentiation from those non-bikers around him.

These border-creating activities were not deliberately contrived by members, nor were they conducted under test conditions. For members this behaviour was part of the standard logic employed in everyday decision making, and which was presumed for those that interacted, or participated, with them. As such, these social dramas were simply behavioural expressions of underlying subcultural assumptions. These assumptions may never be elevated to an ideological level, or even communicated on a verbal level; however, they form the basic fibre of the subcultural fabric, and behavioural participation forms the grounds of assuming their being shared. What is shared is what the ethnomethodologist refers to as "Socially sanctioned facts of the life in society that any bonafide member of the society knows" (Garfinkle, 1967:76). The greater the degree of sharing, the greater the ease of interaction, the greater the chance of solidifying friendship bonds. Our foursome returned to Jim's house to have a few "brews" (beer), and smoke some of his "home grown" marijuana. Jim mentioned that: "Arnold's always bragging about how he's got the best weed in town, so I asked him over to try some of my home grown stuff. Haw, you should have seen his face after he toked up!" This author asked Jim if Arnold said anything about whose stuff was better. "Naw, he just took a few more tokes. Then he crawls out the door, down the sidewalk, towards his bike, yelling back, 'Not bad, Fermanski! Not bad!' Haw! Haw! Haw!"

A friend of the club becomes involved in a system of balanced reciprocity, the exchange of items of approximately equal value for the convenience of both parties. However, it is the aspect of solidifying interpersonalities rather than the economics of these exchanges that is emphasized. The individual becomes increasingly more involved in the network of mutual assistance that consolidates the brotherhood. For example, during the winter months of "rechroming and rebuilding," Raunch, a professional welder, offered to repair a crack in the primary chain casing of the author's motorcycle. A few days later the author went over to Raunch's abode - an old three storey house which he shared with Crash, Snake and Melody (Snake's old lady) - to pick up the casing. Raunch and the researcher wound up having a few beers and discussing Raunch's bike which he was "tearing down" (disassembling) in his living room: "Yeah, I do my best work when I'm watching Gunsmoke." When it came time to leave, Raunch gave the researcher the casing which had not only been welded but also polished. When the author asked how much was owing, Raunch replied: "Well, I don't usually do this sort of thing for money." Realizing his faux pas, the author mentioned that he was putting a new front tire on his bike and that Raunch was welcome to the used, but with lots-of-tread-left tire if he could use it. "Sounds good" was his reply.

Over a period of time the number and intensity of friendship ties one has with club members increases as the variety and frequency of contact situations increases. In this manner the nucleus of Rebel club members surrounds itself with a mutual support group whose respective resources they can readily draw upon: from the exchange of bike parts and information on carburetor systems, drinking, riding, and partying together, to physical self-defence. However, while maintaining this peripheral subculture of bikers is functional in itself, the most crucial resource that "friends of the club" provide is new members. While an individual is a friend of the club he gets a basic idea of what the club is all about while enjoying many of the benefits of club affiliation -

especially if he is perceived as a prospective member. In this sense one can say that the club strikes for the prospect before the prospect strikes for the club.

If the prospect is successful in establishing himself as a "friend of the club" in general, and he forms at least one strong dyadic tie in particular, one of his closer contacts may suggest that he attempt to join the club: "Hey, Coyote, why don't you strike for the club? Come to Wednesday's meeting and state your case" (Tiny, Rebels M.C.). The member who makes this suggestion will likely serve as the prospect's mentor during the probationary or "striking" period. With more extreme outlaw clubs, especially those involved in organized crime, the boundaries are drawn even tighter in terms of the screening process, as the prospect will require an official sponsor. This sponsor accepts full responsibility for the novitiate's future actions:

> If a dude is voted on and accepted then he becomes the responsibility of the member who brought him to the meeting. Because of the responsibility the member takes on he must be very careful on who he chooses to bring. If a member brings in a bad "prospective" and he fucks up, this reflects back on the member and could result in his suspension.
>
> One main thing a striker must learn is that if he gets busted or gets hassled by the cops is that he knows nothing and nobody. One time the O.P.P. (Ontario Provincial Police) pulled a raid on the Toronto chapter (Satans Choice M.C.) for bike theft and arrested four members and one striker . . . . They warned him not to say anything. The cops realized that the guy was new to the whole thing and decided that if they threw a scare into him he might start talking. The poor fucker was so scared that he started singing like a stool pigeon. Apparently the cops fed him a bullshit line that he was going to jail for a long time and that the rest of the guys in the club would never get near him if he cooperated; so he tells the fucking pigs the whole story. After he spilled the beans, the pigs put him back in the same cell with the other four members. They asked him what happened. He said nothing. Maybe the shithead didn't know that the others would be questioned also. Anyways, when their turn came, the others found out what really happened. The cops had what they wanted so they just showed the members dates, times, and places and signed statements. When they went back to the cell, the "striker" was all smiles. They beat him up so badly that he spent three months in the hospital before he went to trial himself. His court case went in his favour, and since he had a

> clean record he received a suspended sentence from the court, but not from the Choice. Two weeks later, he was back in the hospital, but this time the pigs weren't around so he was in much worse shape. He lost complete sight in one eye and remained in the hospital for another six weeks.
>
> The members that assaulted him in jail were charged with assault, but the charges were dropped when they agreed to plead guilty on the other charges (plea bargaining).
>
> The sponsoring member was suspended from the club for four weeks and was barred from ever running for any (club) office (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

If and when the prospect chooses to attempt to join the club, he comes to the regular weekly meeting, whereupon he formally states his reasons for wanting to join the club. As a "friend of the club" the prospect has demonstrated qualities of being a "biker," he is now interrogated by the membership at large to evaluate his potential for learning how to be a Rebel. The additional qualifications that members view as being vital to this learning process are:

1) The honesty that is required for open communication: "Honesty. Sincerity. I want to hear it from the heart, any dishonesty I vote no! Honesty to me and the club. He can be a thief but he must be honest to me" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

2) Members are aware of the fact that all applicants bring with them their own unique set of personal values and goals that they hope to actualize through group participation. What members try to determine is whether or not these individual proclivities can be successfully merged with those of the group, or operationalized within the club's range of accepted behaviour to the benefit of both group and individual:

> He must have a sincere wish to be a Rebel and not just be using the colours for an ego trip. We realize that everyone had their own little power trip, and this is usually overlooked as long as the club comes first . . . yet any extremes are discouraged and kept to a minimum (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

> Well, he's got to be reasonably intelligent so you can explain things to him. It can't be some dummy you can't even talk to. The last thing we need is some guy striking and saying: "Duh, well gosh gee, it sure is a nice day to ride with dis, ah, er, club." Some guys I look at and say, "Fuck it! I don't want that creep around." Maybe it's something I've heard about him, or something he's done in the past that I didn't like. Jesse is a good example . . . I didn't want him to strike at all . . . . He's just an asshole. I've just seen him perform and do stupid things for no reason whatsoever. Like jump up and smack some guy in the bar when the guy said, "Excuse me" and tried to step around him. And he (Jesse) just up and drove (punched) him. To me that's an asshole stunt with no sense or reason behind it . . . it reflects on me and I don't need that (Steve, Rebels M.C.)

Aside from these extremes, judgements as to the suitability of a prospect based on personality characteristics are usually deferred until the striking period itself. The striking period involves learning how to negotiate one's behaviour in terms of the group self-image; furthermore, members are still evaluating first impressions.

Author:	Do you consider personal qualities, like how well you get along with him?
Raunch (Rebels M.C.):	Well, no, not so much that, because you can get a bad impression right off the bat. We like to give him a chance because people change, especially when they're striking.

3) The applicant must have adult status (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules); the legal adult age in the province of Alberta is eighteen.

4) Applicant is asked if he can afford the time that is involved and whether or not he is in a position to make club ties his primary obligation:

> He's asked if he has the time. If a man is married we ask him what his wife thinks of it. If a man can't handle his wife, then he can't be a good striker or a good member. Like if it's Saturday night and some members phone up a striker and say, "We need you, striker." If the striker says, "Well, you see I was planning on taking my old lady out tonight," they just say, "We need you striker," and that's that (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

One of the tenets of social network analysis is that the number of intense social relationships that any one individual can maintain is restricted due to limitations in terms of time, energy, and resources. The Rebels give empirical credence to this theoretical proposition, realizing that the intensity of Rebel ties leaves little of these personal commodities to pass around elsewhere. The prospect is questioned as to the nature of his present "outside" relationships. The expressed understanding is that most of these ties will have to be modified, and many of them terminated all together as the prospect is encapsulated within the brotherhood:

> We also (in addition to more technical requirements) check this person out to the best of our ability. We find out where he works, what he's been doing for the last little while, who he lives with, who his friends *were*; and if everything checks out, well, you know, he's allowed to *strike* (Ken, Rebels M.C.).

In addition to being aware of the fact that there should be no overriding outside commitment that will inhibit the realignment of the prospect's social network, older members are also wary of any impending elements of personal instability that could either affect the directionality or undermine the effectiveness of the transition to the brotherhood:

Blues (Rebels M.C.):	I mean, if a guy just got married in the last few months, or is even thinking of getting married, I'd consider him and I'd say, "No, forget it!"
Author:	You would tell him to get his personal scene together first?
Blues (Rebels M.C.):	Yeah, for sure, get established. Get a relationship established with this chick or whatever it is before he even considers coming to the club. Because the club is well known for fucking up relationships between a man and a woman.
Author:	In terms of the time commitment and the emotional commitment?
Blue (Rebels M.C.):	That's right.

5) The use of drugs among members is prevalent and acts as an

effective border-marking activity in terms of one's self-image and the sheer fact that it is an illegal activity. However, contrary to two popular misconceptions: (a) the usage of drugs is largely confined to the non-addictive variety including hallucinogenics such as LSD or MDA, and consists mainly of marijuana; and (b) the usage of these drugs does not necessarily lead to use of the addictive variety of opiates and synthetics such as morphine, codeine, demerol, etc. These two facts reflect an important aspect of the nature of outlaw motorcycle clubs: they are not retreatist organizations such as the "beats" of the fifties and early sixties, or the "hippies" of the mid-sixties and early seventies; the interaction among members is not limited to the exchange of intellectualisms or fantasies within an unstable network that has no corporate identity and whose membership and sense of commitment continues to wax and wane. The activities and intermember obligations of the brotherhood cannot be fulfilled by an individual who does not have complete control:

> He's asked, "Do you do heavy drugs?" We don't want any dope freaks. . . we can't afford to have anybody around who is so spun out that they couldn't take care of themselves . . . the first thing we tell (those prospects who are accepted as) strikers is to stay away from dope pushers or heavy users. We disapprove of friends that interfere with the functioning of the club (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

In addition to discriminating against applicants who are heavily into dope, the club members are very sensitive to the sociopsychological stability of their brothers and do not hesitate to act to ensure that stability. Thus, when one member began to drink too heavily - to the point where his behaviour displayed some of the ineptitudes characteristic of an alcoholic - he was "put on the wagon" and considered "under probation" by his brothers. His behaviour and drinking habits came under close surveillance until such time that the members felt that "he had his act back together again." An outlaw club is particularly sensitive to having its members unnecessarily expose themselves and the reputation of the club to outside threats - whether they emanate from the police or roadside vigilantes - by being incapacitated in public. Thus, if a member wants to get drunk at a bar, he makes sure members are there who aren't; if he wants to get "stoned" he finds friendly confines such as his own residence or the clubhouse:

> I remember one day I decided to go tripping on acid. It was a bright sunny afternoon and that night was our regular meeting. I decided that I was really going to get stoned so I copped (took/swallowed) a whole whack of purple micro-dots which is a fantastic stone; but I started popping (swallowing) them one after another. Pretty soon I was fucking wrecked (incapacitated) and I was down at the park by the Brampton Hall. I didn't know who the fuck I was or where I was. I guess I was falling all over my bike by the drugstore when who should walk out but Jack (President, Satans Choice M.C.). At first, he thought I was drunk, but he realized that I was stoned right out of my fucking head. He took me with him to his apartment and made me stay there and listen to records. He phoned Dave to go pick up my bike. All I can remember is taking off my colours and staring into Satan's face (part of the Satans Choice M.C. logo). I stayed like that for almost four hours, listening to Satan. When I finally came down, Jack gave me a good shit kicking. I knew it was for my own good (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

6) The motorcycle is the most visible and immediate border marker that clubs manipulate. The degree of intra-club commitment, and conversely, the degree of differentiation from the host society are symbolized by more rigid expectations as to what constitutes a "righteous machine." The most salient of variables to be considered are: (a) required minimal engine displacement (size); and (b) restrictions regarding the make and model of motorcycle, i.e., Harley-Davidson; (c) specifications as to whether the machine is to be "chopped" (customized) or stock. Each of these variables makes an increasing demand on the individual in terms of financial costs, time, and mechanical knowledge and ingenuity. Membership in the Rebels M.C. requires ownership of a Harley-Davidson.

If a biker "rides to live, and lives to ride," then the Harley is the bike he will ride and live for. It is furthermore specified that the motorcycle have a minimal displacement of 1200 c.c. which means the FLH, FXE, or FXS model. While a member was not officially expected to customize/chop his bike, there was only one stock machine in the club. Technically - according to the constitution - prospects could strike on a Harley of lesser size engine, i.e., the XLH or XLS models of 1000 c.c., or for that matter, a British model motorcycle (Norton, Triumph, or B.S.A.). However, this certainly wouldn't enhance their chances, and none were observed to do so over the three-year period that the author was associated with the club.

After being queried on these matters, the prospect is asked to leave the clubhouse while the members discuss his application. It is significant that an official vote is not taken; there is no room for dissent insofar as the striking period cannot prove successful if all the members are not amenable to teaching the propsect how to be a Rebel. Group solidarity is ensured through an obvious consensus type format rather than a simple covert majority vote. Objections and opinions are openly discussed, and the group in a sense reviews its purpose and consolidates its ideology. The "friend of the club" period is a time of observation, affiliation, and ends with this screening/selection process; and in that the striking period is to be a learning process, "the foremost quality (becomes) honesty and sincerity. We want to see if he is both willing and capable of learning how to be a Rebel." The prospect is invited back into the clubhouse. If the individual's application to strike is rejected, he is so informed; however, in order to avoid unnecessary "hard feeling," he is not told the specific reason why, and the individual reverts back to being a "friend of the club." If the consensus of opinion is in favour of the prospect, he begins his probationary period as a "striker."

Chapter 7

STAGE 3: STRIKER

> The purpose of the striking period is to see if a man can get it together enough to be a member. We want to find out whether he'll be a brother, a righteous member that'll give to the club (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The prospect formally initiates his striking period by purchasing ($15.00) a striker patch. For most clubs this emblem consists of a rectangular felt patch with STRIKER embossed in red against a white background . . . specific colour combinations will vary between clubs. A variation on the striker patch is to give the striker the club colour patch, e.g., the lion's head of the Warlords M.C.; but the top rocker with the name of the club on it, e.g., "Warlords," and the bottom rocker with the club's territorial base on it, e.g., "Edm.," are withheld until if and when the prospect succeeds in becoming a member. The club patch in combination with the name and territory rockers constitute a member's "colours." The striker patch is sewn on the back of a sleeveless denim jacket or leather vest which is worn over one's "leathers" (jacket), tee-shirt, or by itself. The striker patch is the prospect's first symbol of official club ties; and just as members do not appear without their colours, so too the striker does not appear without his striker patch. From this point on, the individual is referred to by members as "striker Rick," or "striker Gerry," etc.; however, for the prospect, his name consists solely of "striker":

Plate 4. Blues, Rebels Motorcycle Club (photograph courtesy of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Edmonton S/D G.I.S.).

Plate 5. Caveman, Rebels Motorcycle Club (photograph courtesy of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Edmonton S/D G.I.S.).

COLOURED PICTURE

> For a while, I thought that "striker" was going to be my new nickname, because all I ever heard for twelve solid weeks was: "Striker, come here!" "Striker, do this!" "Striker, clean up that!" Every time I heard that word I jumped (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

As the abilities, attitudes, and attributes of prospects vary, so too will the length of their striking period. For the majority of outlaw clubs the length of time involved falls within a range of two months to two years. The Rebels M.C. has no minimal or maximal striking period; however, over a three-year span, eight striker periods were observed to vary from three and half months to nine months, and members stated four to five months as an average. The striking period serves to integrate the prospect into the club as a functional unit. This process of integration occurs on three theoretically separable levels of group participation: (1) Institutional (institutional role relations); (2) Interpersonal (group social network); (3) Personal (personal value system). From an emic perspective the "striker earns his colours" by displaying a commitment to the club, its members and motorcycling: "love for the club," "love for his brothers," and "a love of biking."

To this point the prospect has already demonstrated at least minimal "biker" qualities; the major concern becomes the encapsulization of the individual within the group social network: those interpersonal social relations, composed of social links or behaviour, which members initiate outside the context of formal club activity. The establishment of a group social network requires that the meaning of club membership to members be expanded beyond the formal group structure to include the integration of the members as an informal social unit. As a consequence group influence becomes more diffused: individual participation is expanded beyond institutional role performance to include the formation of friendship ties; collective participation is expanded beyond the completion of organizational tasks to include the maintenance of group solidarity. For the members of an outlaw motorcycle club the concept of a group social network becomes the reality of the "brotherhood":

> Well, basically it's (Rebels M.C.) a riding club. From that stems a brotherhood. People you can believe in, count on all the time. You know that's always a really good feeling (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

The premise that underlies the ideology of brotherhood is a principle of cooperation based on empathy of purpose and welfare - a sense of common fate - without which an outlaw motorcycle club such as the Rebels could not survive. It is in effect a very basic law:

> Now this is the law of the jungle - as old
> and as true as the sky:
> And the wolf that shall keep it may prosper,
> but the wolf that shall break it must die.
> As the creeper that girdles the tree-trunk,
> the law runneth forward and back . . .
> For the strength of the pack is the wolf, and
> the strength of the wolf is the pack.
> (Kipling, R., verse from Jungle Book)

An in-depth analysis of the striker's "outside ties" is conducted by the club to ensure that none of those ties pose a future threat to the brotherhood allegiance.

Perhaps the major threat to the club with respect to members developing alternative or competitive commitments is the formation of strong male-female social bonds: "I've seen a lot of members fall because of old ladies" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.). The collective expectation that predominates is that members will not compromise their club participation. This social norm is reinforced in terms of the outlaw ideology, in particular the freedom ethic; these ideals have far reaching ramifications for the type of personal relationship that members can establish with females.

> It's a single man's club with a single man's freedoms. They (vested members) look down on marriage. They like the members to be in a position where if the chick crosses him up at all, he can say: "The hell with you!" and end it all right there; and then move on to someone else (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Striker Loud had a relationship with a female who was an ex old lady of a member of the Warlords M.C. It was a relationship that eventually led to his expulsion.

> We didn't approve of his old lady. We asked that he just drop her at first. Then we saw that he was reasonably serious about the girl, so we just asked that he spend more time with the club . . . . He was just going overboard on this chick and finally he was asked to leave and the striker patch was picked up. We could see that this chick was no good and taking up too much time. We warned striker (Loud) about this chick (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The collective expectation of not compromising club affiliation for the sake of marital obligations is further augmented by promoting a personal (value) sense of machismo: male dominance and aggressiveness complemented by female subservience especially as an object of sexual gratification. These complementary dimensions of male machismo are fostered by certain activities on the institutional level of participation (formal club activities):

> Women are here to serve, so we make them serve . . . . The first thing we do when a visitor comes to town is to get him a woman to get his balls off (sexual intercourse) and give him lots of head (felatio). At this one party we had, splashing (passing females around in a group orgy) got to be a little boring; so we started pouring wine up their pussy (vagina), and we used cunt (vaginas/females) for wine glasses (O.J., Coffin Wheelers M.C., Sudbury, Ontario).

To the extent that the members maintain a group social network that is typified by a high degree of both connectedness (frequency of contact), and intensity (interpersonal commitment), then the members and their opinions will function as an efficient reference group:

> Dianna (Wee Albert's old lady, Rebels M.C.): Clayton's been going with Donna for three years and been living with her for another two years. A year ago he announced his engagement, but he received so much pressure that he called it off. Donna was saying that Clayton was so irritable after talking with his brothers that he was almost impossible to live with, so she returned the engagement ring. The pressure from the club stopped, and everything was fine. He's recently gone out and bought her another engagement ring, though his brothers don't know it. This will be interesting.
>
> Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): But Clayton is a solid member and a lot of members will support him.
>
> Dianna (Wee Albert's old lady, Rebels M.C.): Yeah, but if he shows the slightest hesitancy they'll have his head spinning and a confirmed bachelor in no time.
>
> Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): He's got to be firm and know what he's doing, and there's nothing wrong in that. But the fact is that the club does not like anything that ties a member down or interferes with the club.

If a striker is already married his wife will be carefully interrogated and their interaction closely scrutinized to ensure that there was no conflict of interests, and, if any were to arise, that the member could handle them in the club's interest.

> Before they'd consider Albert (as a potential member), they put me through the third degree. They'd come over and sort of harass me to see how much I'd take and to see if Albert got his way when he wanted it. Finally, I just said: "Look, as long as the club doesn't step on my toes, I'll be the last person to step on theirs." They want the women to be around to pour the coffee, make the meals, keep the house clean, and fuck when they decide they want to be around. They look on marriage as something perverse (Dianna, Wee Albert's old lady, Rebels M.C.).

For the members, however, the "perversity" of marriage did not lie in the fact of two people forming a meaningful, if not inseparable, bond between them. Many of the members did just that. The "perversity" lay in signing a contract on that bond. The members largely ignored the status that is conferred on that bond by the outside society; they use the same term - "old lady" - to refer to any established male/female bond regardless of whether the female is a steady girlfriend, common law relation, or legal wife. A relationship is held to mean much more if the individuals involved engaged in it because they wanted to, and it is solely the element of "wanting to" rather than "doing what one is supposed to do," that holds the relationship together.

> Author: If a guy who you had accepted as a striker, or a member decides to get married, what form of pressure, if any, would be applied?
>
> Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): Well, no real pressure. They'd just advise him, you know: "You're too young." "You'll lose your freedom to be and act as you want." "You'll end up ruining the relationship."

Again, the aspect of not compromising the integrity of one's self-control emerges. If our everyday enterprises become shackled by contracts, then freedom of choice is divorced from personal decision making and life becomes an irrevocable pattern rather than a creative adventure. It is from within this perspective that we can perhaps best understand the following statements made by a five-year member of the club who recently married his old lady, a long-time life's companion:

> I lived with Gail for nine years, we had (two) kids. I enjoyed it all, I never fooled around, it never was necessary. When some of the guys were making it with some chicks in the clubhouse I never really felt the urge to participate, I had it waiting at home. Now that we're married, things've changed. She's more possessive. I'm seriously considering taking up some of the offers I get here in the bar, you know, just to bust loose and get it on . . . I'm not sure how, but marriage is ruining our life together (Jim, Rebels M.C.).

On a statistical note, although sixteen of the twenty-four Rebel club members lived with old ladies, only three were actually married.

In addition to looking for reassurances that she will not be an interfering element, the members will converse with the old lady with the expressed purpose of deriving information or insights about the striker's character that might not otherwise surface until a later date.

> A man's old lady is a mirror of himself. They've grown accustomed to each other and they think alike. Although a guy may be very interested in becoming a member, he sometimes camouflages his true personality. He may cover up some trait that he might feel isn't good for the club. His old lady will let something like that slip (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

For the same purpose members "like to know what kinds of friends that he left to come to the club. These friends are excluded after he does come to the club . . . " By restricting both the recruiting and probation period to bikers, and bikers only, the potential personal network of the individual is limited to individuals who are more likely to be similar to each other than outsiders. To that end, personality conflicts are never overlooked; but as far as strikers are concerned, the member always prevails. Either the striker changes/adapts or he is eventually asked to leave: ". . . the club would expect the striker to come around, and this would be watched." The striker is furthermore expected to get to know and interact with each member on a personal level. The establishment of all inclusive dyadic ties between members ensures the possibility of universal communication in an attempt to create and maintain a working consensus or "common head space."

> Each member should take the time to personally go out with the striker, just himself and the striker. He should take the time to get to know the striker personally (Saint, Rebels M.C.).

A striker's network links with other members are built upon and become multi-dimensional - including both instrumental/task and personal/expressive ties - and as such are activated in both institutional and institutionally unrelated contexts:

> 4. Orders (given to strikers) are restricted to club duties, club functions and clubhouse (Constitution, Rebels M.C., 1976).

> Well, I'd ask any member to give me a hand. The striker doesn't have to help me because he's a striker. I can't say: "Striker, come and help me with the garage!" He helps me because he's a friend or he just wouldn't be around (Catch 22). Like the striker wouldn't

> be obliged as a striker, but you'd like to see what his commitment was to you as a friend (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Thus, while striking duties are formally restricted to formal club activities, the commitments obviously goes much further than that; and, as a consequence, so also do expectations of the striker.

To the extent that the probationary period is successful in this respect, these dyadic ties between members will serve to counteract the potentially disruptive effects of members forming separate and opposing subgroups when ideological or otherwise differences do arise. While the division of the membership into these subgroups fluctuated with the specific issue at hand, radical, moderate, and conservative factions could be discerned within the Rebel ranks. For the striker to be successful in his bid to become a member, he must form dyadic ties with all members of all three factions. Thus, while the prospect may eventually gravitate towards the conservative or radical faction after earning his colours, he will have a demonstrated capability of enacting the behavioural style and empathizing with the perspectives of either of the other two subgroups. From an organizational perspective the group is imparted a degree of adaptive flexibility which is accommodated within the cohesive framework.

Caveman (Rebels M.C.):	I look back on my striking and it was the best time I ever had: "Hey striker, get you and me a beer!" 'Hey striker, let's go for a ride!' Everybody was saying: "Let's do this." 'Let's do that.' When I was striking, I was closer to more members. Well, I shouldn't say I was closer because I wasn't closer; but there was more . . . I wanted to be a part of everything that was coming on. And I feel most members once they get their colours, well, they sort of, like there's probably a couple of little factions within the club that are happening.
Author:	So the members tend to gravitate towards one of the groups?
Caveman (Rebels M.C.):	Right, one or the other. Like there's the bandits and there's the good guys.

Thus, the centrifugal forces of intragroup factionalism and polarization are counterbalanced by the centripetal forces of a common frame of reference maintained through dyadic ties - the core process of the brotherhood.

A number of outlaw clubs institutionalize the "all for one, one for all" ethic by incorporating an "all on one, one on all" clause in their constitution/bylaws, rules. This clause stipulates that regardless of the circumstances all members will support a fellow member when threatened.

> Breaking any of the following rules will be reason for immediate dismissal:
>
> 2. If a group or individual attacks any member, the whole club shall stand behind him and fight if necessary. If, however, member is drunk and aggressive and purposely starts an argument, the rest of the members will escort him away, or step between before trouble starts.
>
> The above rules will be put forward to applicants. If they feel they cannot abide by these rules and are not in favour of them, they will be denied membership to the club (Rules and Regulations, Satans Angels M.C., Vancouver).

The mutual support ethic, especially its knowledge by the general public, acts as a group border marker; it functions to effectively inhibit conflictual contact across the border between the club and host society. The knowledge that a violator faces retribution from the whole club serves to restrain border crossing by outsiders and consequently serves to protect the members in a variety of areas covering a wide range of circumstances: from the all too typical bar room scene wherein a drunk who is in a "I can take on the world" mood perceives the patch holder as the perfect challenge, to the highways - the bullrings of North American society - where a citizen vigilante chooses to exercise a little moral entrepreneurship by using his "cage" (car) to run an outlaw off the road. The Rebels M.C. have no formal ruling on the "all for all" ethic; it is felt to be naturally concomitant "to have that feeling for any member, any brother."

Author: Who would you support in a fight?

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Well, any club member I would support in a fight, of course! . . . if I saw a guy getting beat up by three guys, I would help him . . . in the past, I've stuck my nose in when I've seen some guy slapping a woman around. It never did much good, she usually turned on me.

Author: Yeah, well for all you know you could've been beating up her husband (another social border to be respected). Congratulations though, you probably brought a lovely couple back together.

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, women are crazy that way.

Author: Would I be correct in saying that you would support any club member under any circumstances?

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Um hm, right or wrong. If wrong though, I would take it up with him later about what the hell he was doing. But I wouldn't let him take a licking and then say: "Well, that's why I didn't help you." I'd help him, then tell him: "You know, I think you're an asshole. Think about that when we get to court."

The Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary deliberately set up a test situation wherein a member will go into a bar with a striker along, proceed to pick a fight with somebody, then pretend he's losing (members draw straws to see who is privileged with this arrangement). The striker is observed as to whether or not he will fight for the member.

Members want to find out how sincere a prospect is about joining, and whether or not he will be able to take the many "hassles" that come with being an outlaw and not "quit when the going gets tough." In many ways the striking period is an artificial creation of hard times; the reasoning being that the harder an individual works for a goal, the greater its value is or will be to him. The striker exhibits sincerity "by being willing to do just about anything he's asked to do by a member without bitching."

> When you become a striker you are classified as nothing but dirt. You have no say concerning club activities; and you are always wrong no matter what you are talking about even if you're one hundred percent right. It's during this period that you have to start proving yourself to the club. Many times the other members will razz you because you're a "striker." He will have to take shit from any member in any chapter; he will have to do whatever he is told by any member, and still do whatever his sponsor tells him to do. The president of the chapter could come up to him and say: "I want a blue (Harley) Sporster by Friday," and then its the striker's job to go out and find the bike and bring it back (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

In the past there has been some abuse of strikers which resulted in the Rebels placing the following rule in their constitution:

> 4. Strikers do not have to do anything that maimes body, bike, or costs him money. Orders are restricted to club duties, club functions, and clubhouse (Constitution, Rebels M.C., 1976).

In practice, this constitutional ruling served as a guidance to members as opposed to a grounds for refusal on the part of the striker. Looking at the Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary, the relative non-abuse of a striker during this test of behavioural adaptability is ensured through a common understanding that ". . . a striker is required to do whatever the members ask of him. But, the members only ask a prospect to do those tasks that he himself would do. Of course, there are a lot of things that members will do, eh" (Tramp, Kings Crew M.C.). The realm of institutional activities that a striker participates in and the commonplace duties he is expected to perform include:

(a) Clubhouse - clean the premises of dirt, bottles, glass, bottle caps, etc.; keep the beer fridge supplied; and general maintenance such as refueling the portable power generator, repairing windows, etc.

(b) Club runs - a wide range of activities including "pretty well anything" that the situation demands, such as chopping wood and maintaining the fire, setting up a member's tent, getting a member a quart of oil, a pack of cigarettes, or a beer.

(c) Club functions - at club functions such as boogies, helps clean up the hall, distribute beer, and run general errands.

(d) Club bar - takes members' orders from the food concession booth, reserves pool tables, finds empty chairs, conducts an occasional "bike check" against vandalism.

The striker is observed under a number of other miscellaneous situations such as how he acts when he is drunk.

> In some ways you've got to take that sort of thing with a grain of salt, but in other ways, you might also learn what the guy is all about. People react differently; we like to watch to see if he says anything he might not otherwise say about the club (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

A striker is furthermore evaluated by the miles on his speedometer, the (weather) conditions under which he will ride, and his mechanical prowess - all being considered as valid gauges by which to measure commitment to biking. The striker has to manifest an ability to take care of his own motorcycle. If he is unfamiliar with certain aspects of motorcycle maintenance members will willingly teach him; each member tended to specialize in a certain area, e.g., Caveman/carburetors, Raunch/welding, Jimbo/painting, Shultz/designing, Ken/engine top ends, Blues/moulding, etc. The converse of this obvious display of commitment to biking was the striker developing the ability to remain highly independent in this vitally symbolic area; the members would not tolerate a member going outside the club boundaries in this instance.

> We don't want anybody that can't keep up their own bike. We don't want one of our members going down to Edmonton Motorcycle Service to have someone replace the points on his bike. That's just something that is out (Indian, Rebels M.C.).

After demonstrating that he has both the willingness and dedication to fulfill both personal and interpersonal expectations, the striker is gradually introduced into the institutional level of participation.

> 13. New strikers are to strike one month before being allowed to attend meeting (Constitution, Rebels M.C., 1976).

It is perhaps reasonable to assume that an individual's reasons for joining a group reflect his own personal wants and desires moreso than the activities and goals of the organization. The individual must subsequently show that he is amenable to modifying his personal proclivities in favour of the group task. In order for this adjustment to be made, the individual must be flexible enough to be able to modify his personal behaviour style to complement the group image that members wish to maintain. To that end, a striker must display respect for members and remain sensitive to their opinions.

> It's an unwritten law that if a brother says you're out of line, you've got to listen. Like if you were laying a beating on someone in the Kingsway (club bar), I'd say: "Coyote, you're out of line!" If you kept on doing it, I'd say "Brother, you're out of line!" And you'd better straighten out because something like that I could have your colours for (temporary suspension), or it'd be a black mark against you, or Steve (the sergeant-at-arms) could lay a beating on you (the club supports the sergeant-at-arms in these cases if need be) (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The Rebels will test for a striker's adherence to club dictates in the stressful and vitally important areas of public contact where there is a necessity for cohesiveness and action as a single unit. A particularly insightful condition that goes contrary to most strikers' personal inclination is to remove them from a fight involving members and outsiders and tell them to stand there and watch.

> Rick's hauled me back out of three fights when I was a striker. Once he says: "You stay in between those two cigarette machines and you don't move!", and I literally had to stay in between the two cigarette machines and didn't move (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Each striker is given a copy of the constitution and has access to the Rebels M.C. Book of Rules which is kept within the clubhouse. However, learning and adjusting to how the club functions is "just something that's gained from experience, from being around. There's nobody that can rattle off the rules, rule for rule, except maybe Tom" (Dale, Rebels M.C.). The alignment of personal and group image that takes place during this time of experience leads to interpretive congruence: the individual is able to interpret and generate behaviour in a fashion that is consistent with collective expectations in novel situations having no regulatory guidelines or experiential precedent.

The initial meetings that a striker attends serve to introduce him to procedural rules and the overall format that meeting follow. A striker is observed as to whether or not he exhibits a concern for the club by taking part in the decisions that affect its future:

> What really impresses me about a striker is when he gets up and voices his opinion . . . I don't give a positive vote for a striker until he gets up and says: "No, I feel that's wrong!" or "Yes, I feel that's good!" Strikers aren't encouraged though, they're just watched (Indian, Rebels M.C.).

When and if the striker does state "I feel so-and-so about this," he becomes involved in the process of group polarization (Burstein and Vinokur, 1977; Meyers, 1979). Group polarization refers to the phenomenon of group discussion resulting in the intensification of both personal and collective opinions. There are two separate dimensions to the causal mechanics of this process. First, information processing: group discussion goes beyond the convergence of opinions by providing new previously-unconsidered information about a particular subject. Among like-minded individuals, such as outlaw bikers, the publicizing of novel information will both reinforce and further elicit formerly private inclinations. Second, social comparison: group discussion inevitably involves a process of comparison between individuals on particular issues.

Based on his experiments in social psychology, Meyers (1979) concluded that: "People want to be perceived favourably and will modify their expressed opinions to this end, especially if they discover that other people share their inclinations." Strikers are in a blatant situation of having to impress members with both the information they present and their personal position on that information; they therefore can be expected to modify their personal opinions accordingly.

The effectiveness of group discussion, i.e., information processing and social comparison, leading to group polarization is further amplified by the very process of verbal participation. The descriptors become active as opposed to being limited to passive involvement. Attitude research indicates that active participation in a discussion is more effective in producing attitude change than passive participation. The implication is that while both active and passive participants receive the same information, active participation results in a form of verbal commitment. That is, reformulating an argument in one's own words results in personal identification with the message.

It is these elements of information processing, social comparison, and verbal commitments that underlie the effectiveness of ideological participation leading to both personal identification and commitment. The discussion format of the Rebels' formal decision making process allows members to innovate, evaluate, and control group policies. The striker becomes involved in a process whereby like-minded individuals, e.g., bikers, come together and engage in discussion which reinforces their shared tendencies, and leads to a social reality of their own creation. This process is further amplified when put in a context of conflict as is the case between themselves (outlaw bikers) and outside society (citizens). Under these conditions a striker's growing commitment to the club results in a concomitant differentiation from the host society.

The progress of a striker is discussed by the membership at large during the course of the weekly club meetings. In addition, members of the executive board continue to monitor members' personal opinions of the striker. If the executive feels that there is an informal consensus among the members as to what should be the fate of the striker, they will call for a formal decision to be made. The "membership vote" takes the form of a secret ballot at which time members can exercise one of three opinions:

✓ = membership

0 = continue striking

X = terminate association

These choices allow for a gradation of success or failure:

- more than 5 X's, he is asked to leave the club;
- more than 2 X's, but less than 5, he continues to strike;
- more than 2 0's, he continues to strike;
- less than 2 X's or 2 0's, he is granted membership.

A ruling in the constitution ensures that this vote will reflect the club as a whole:

> 6. Quorum for a meeting is sixty percent of membership. Eighty percent for membership votes (Constitution, Rebels M.C., 1976).

Given an average membership number of twenty-four, the percentage of members required to approve a striker's incorporation would be ninety-two percent. The high percentage of approval reflects both the selectivity of the process and ensures the cohesiveness of the group. If the prospect receives the necessary ninety-two percent approval for membership, preparations are made ready for the upcoming initiation.

Chapter 8

STAGE 4: INITIATE

> Modern society fails to give a person an adequate conception of himself through a lack of identifying ritual. The average person today is unlikely to experience many ceremonies which intensify his awareness of himself as a person (Klapp, 1969:33).

All rites of passage involve an existential change in meaning of self which is predicated by a transition in social position, and which receives recognition by the local group that constitutes the collective frame of reference for that change. Viewed within this rather generous frame of reference, a number of structural commonalities emerge. In particular, the format of a rite of passage inevitably involves a progression through three cumulative stages: separation; transition; and incorporation (van Gennep, 1960; orig. 1909). Joining an outlaw motorcycle club - the transposition from "outsider" to "patch holder" replicates van Gennep's cumulative stage progression. First, a "biker" who qualifies as a "prospect" is separated emotionally and structurally from the host society; second, the prospect goes through a period of transition as a "friend of the club" and "striker"; finally, the prospect is integrated as an initiand into the club to become a "patch holder." This simple sequence - separation, transition, incorporation - is useful for comparative purposes but does not indicate the specific content and function of initiation rites. That is, the sequence does not indicate the content of what happens - only the structure of how it happens.

Rites of passage vary widely in terms of their specific functions and content. A comparative analysis of such rituals would include the following: (1) social transposition - the specific status change varying from the near universals of birth, puberty, marriage, and death to the more esoteric shamanic initiations; (2) time involved - from a two-hour university convocation to the four-month mukanda (male initiation) ceremony practised by the Nedembu (Turner, 1967); (3) social response - the extent of collective participation ranging from passive observation to active hazing of the initiands; (4) ideological status - whether the ritual is of a secular or religious nature; degree of structure - whether the ceremonial activities follow a highly formalized or institutionalized format such as a Roman Catholic marriage, or are relatively spontaneous or open-ended in nature such as the impromptu dumping of ice-water on a fraternity novitiate; (6) intensity - from receiving a scroll of parchment within the decorum of black robes to being circumcized while standing naked in the glare of campsite fires. The variable of intensity has been found to be particularly revealing about the content and function of initiation ceremonies (Otterbein, 1977; Young, 1965). The degree of intensity exhibited by a rite of passage might best be estimated by gauging the presence of absence of the following component factors: (i) social recognition, minimal to extravagant; (ii) personal performance, passive to dramatic; (iii) collective performance: observation to participation; (iv) personal test situation: negligible to strenuous; (v) psychological stress: imperceptible to traumatic. These component structural and content variables - as outlined above and summarized in Figure 3 - will serve as the theoretical framework

CONTENT/STRUCTURE	SEPARATION	TRANSITION	INCORPORATION
		Specific Status Change	
1. Social transition		A B	
2. Time involved		Moments . . . Years	
3. Social response		Passive . . . Active	
4. Ideological status		Secular . . . Religious	
5. Degree of structure		Formalized . . . Spontaneous	
6. Intensity			
i) Social recognition		Minimal . . . Extravagent	
ii) Personal performance		Passive . . . Dramatic	
iii) Collective performance		Observation . . . Participation	
iv) Personal test situation		Negligible . . . Strenuous	
v) Psychological stress		Imperceptible . . . Traumatic	

Figure 3. Initiation rites - variables of structure and content.

for the analysis of outlaw motorcycle club initiation ceremonies that follows.

Initiation into an outlaw motorcycle club constitutes a rite of passage insofar as it dramatizes a social transposition: a specific status change involving the assimilation of an individual into a secret society - from "citizen" to Rebel.

With respect to time involved, the whole process of outlaw socialization - the five stages of "becoming a Rebel" - fall within Gennep's (1960) overall structural framework. Thus, the primary function of the Rebels' "Initiation Run" (a three-day ceremony) is not so much a learning process in itself as are many male initiation rites; rather, it is a collective celebration of having achieved that status (a two-month to two-year process).

Focussing on the issue of elaborateness, the initiation ceremonies do not follow a rigid structure or institutionalized format. No two initiation ceremonies are ever exactly alike. Unlike the group identifying ceremonies that typify industrial society, for example, church or patriotic, outlaw rites of passage are neither formalistic nor boring (Klapp, 1969). An outlaw initiation is at once both a personal and creative event; it is constrained only by the available material and the collective imagination of the club. Thus, ceremonial activities not only reiterate and reinforce inherent group qualities and values, but also reflect largely unpremeditated personal values and desires. Group and personal structures are effectively merged in the context of pleasurable interaction. The operative term is independent behaviour that arises within the club without external cause . . . not borrowed from the surrounding society. The type of event that provides the context of the ceremony will vary from club to club. For example, the Satans Choice M.C. have an "Initiation Night," the Kings Crew M.C. hold a "Colours Party," and the Rebels M.C. ride on an "Initiation Run."

Initiation ceremonies mark a personal status change; however, that change has implication for the integratedness of a tightly-knit small group as well. Both personal and collective adjustment is facilitated by giving that change formal recognition in a collective ceremony that involves an active social response. Thus, the Rebels M.C. Initiation Run becomes a mandatory run, participation is compulsory. The Initiation Run is a pilgrimage to a secluded location such as a lakeside campsite. Here, the initiation takes place within the context of three days of partying. That the individual is being separated from outside influence and encapsulated within the club is reflected by the fact that the Initiation Run is a closed event; it is private to the extent that it excludes members of other clubs as guests.

At one initiation run held for the benefit of three as of yet unitiated members; Steve, Voodoo and Gerry, the initiands were suddenly jumped while they sat somewhat apprehensively by the firesite roasting weiners and drinking beer. Steve had earlier used his hand axe to fashion himself a club in anticipation of what was to come. However, after experiencing a modified basic law of physics: for every blow there is an equal if not greater return blow, he soon abandoned it. The three novitiates were dragged to a clearing in the bush, mildly beaten, stripped, and staked spread eagled to the ground. The initiands were then marked with ashes and charcoal from the fire - burns were accidental extras. Members then brought out pails of concoctions that they had gathered during the day: engine and transmission oil; grease and urine; STP and shit. It was a solution whose adhesive properties almost rivalled its repulsive appearance and caustic smell. The substance was (un)ceremoniously dumped on the unfortunates. The members stood around and made various unflattering comments about the initiates' unenviable position; some feigned sympathy and made half-hearted attempts to wash the initiates by dosing them with beer; others, however, used beer that had been further refined in their kidneys. The initiands were eventually cut loose, coerced to the lakeside, and cast in. The evident physical harassment and desecration in many ways parallels the symbolic transitional theme of ritual death, spiritual transfiguration, and rebirth, that dominates the male puberty rites of traditional societies. In the case at hand, the initiand dies as a member of outside society and is born again within the parameters of the club. The initiate's colours, which become quite soiled over the course of events, provide a physical reminder of the initiation process. Colours are never washed; and faded "originals" whose markings effectively documents the wearer's club life become prized possessions among older members.

The newly initiated members then joined their brothers for a banquet of corn, weiners, beans, fresh pike caught from the lake, cold beer and wine, and the heavy-sweet smell of marijuana to let the good times roll smoothly. Attending to the factor of ideological status, there is certainly no overtly religious element present in the initiation proceedings. However, the heavy session of physical horseplay, consumption of large quantities of food and liquor, general sexual licence, and use of marijuana, all serve to produce altered states of consciousness. Thus, while there is no form of worship or invocation, the process could be viewed as obtaining the spiritual heights of the sacred and the regeneration of the collective spirit by overloading on the pleasures of the secular.

While the members joined in drinking, and songs, a blown-out tire which had nearly caused the demise of one rider was thrown into the fire. From the brilliant luminescence leapt forth flames that consumed three worn striker patches . . . symbols of an extinguished status.

There is significant variation in the intensity of motorcycle club initiation ceremonies. For a Canadian Motorcycle Association chartered club such as the Golden West M.C., the ceremony is delimited to a one-night party which culminates a socialization process consisting of a simple majority vote on an individual whose novitiate period has consisted of attending four official functions. In contrast, initiation into an outlaw club such as the Satans Choice M.C. proves to be much more virulent and traumatic in nature.

The initiation ceremonies of both the Golden West M.C. and the Satans Choice M.C. serve to announce a change of social status in the form of achieving membership in a formal organization. The disparate nature of the ceremonies stems from and reflects inter-club variation in: (1) organizational content: the degree to which internal solidarity is required; and (2) social structural relations: the extent to which it is necessary to maintain rigid external borders with the host community. Focussing on organizational content, the activities and range of influence of the Golden West M.C. was largely delimited to its formal institutional structure, such as club meetings and runs. For members of an outlaw club such as the Satans Choice M.C., participation in the formal institutional structure (i) leads to the formation of a group social network that functions outside the context of formal club activity; and (ii) forms the basis for the derivation of a personal value system whose influence may diffuse beyond the areas of both institutional and interpersonal structure into the area of personal (private) decision making - personal structure. In order to ensure both the compatibility and consistency of these three levels of participation, it becomes necessary to maintain the effectiveness of interpersonal ties as mediatory links between the institutional structure and personal value structure. Thus, while an initiation ceremony conveying minimal social recognition would suffice for the Golden West M.C., it becomes necessary for the Satans Choice M.C. to dramatize inter-member solidarity by means of an intense initiation rite. The dissimilar nature of the ceremonies is furthermore symptomatic of the contrasting social structural relationships that the two organizations have with the host community. The Golden West M.C. are integrated both structurally - C.M.A. charter and Societies Act registration - and ideologically - antisocial behaviour is not tolerated. In effect, membership in the Golden West M.C. further aligns the individual with the community. As a result, ritual incorporation is achieved with minimal social recognition in the form of a party. On the other hand, the Satans Choice M.C. set themselves up in obvious opposition, a counterhierarchy to the established, but excluded, outside community. The initiation ceremonies of an outlaw club such as the Satans Choice M.C. must therefore fulfill not only the organizational function of incorporation - formal social recognition - but also the additional social structural tasks of separation: "You can't be one of the outsiders!" and encapsulization: "You've gotta be one of us now!"

> Jack took a machete down from the wall and cut the sleeves off my jean jacket, and then they gave me my colours (club patch: crimson devil's head on a white background). They made me wear a beard; they said: "Don't shave anymore. Let your hair grow. You've gotta be one of us now! You can't be one of the outsiders! Act the way we tell you to act or forget it - fuck off now; if we see you on the road, you're dead . . . " all this kind of shit. So I starting growing a beard and getting even more into the swing of things (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

Thus, the greater the organizational imperative to ensure solidarity between members, and the greater the necessity that rigid social structural boundaries be maintained, the more intense will be the nature of the initiation ceremony. The required degree of intensity can be achieved by both implementing and augmenting any or all of the following componential elements: (1) social recognition, from minimal to extravagant; (2) personal performance, from passive to dramatic; (3) collective performance, from observation to participation; (4) personal test situation, from negligible to strenuous; and (5) psychological stress, from imperceptible to traumatic. All of these intensity-related factors become evident in the Satans Choice M.C. initiation ceremony.

Focussing on the variable of social recognition, the Satans Choice "Initiation Night" is not restricted to minimal social recognition as was the Golden West M.C. party. Rather than being "just another party" the Satans Choice ceremony is a two-day extravaganza with a number of elaborate events that are unique to the initiation ritual. With respect to personal performance, the Satans Choice initiand is ceremonially dressed, decorated, and forced to perform in a dramatic way. The initiand does not participate with the anonymity of being just another member but rather is singled out for social recognition in an attention-getting manner.

> I started striking at the end of May, and after I finished my striking period it was November, or close to it. Anyways, it happened in November, when I got initiated, and the weather in Ontario is very, very cold . . . . They (had) said: "Make sure you wear a nice new pair of blue jeans, nice new jean jacket, and a tee-shirt." So I wore it and went down to the clubhouse . . . . I walked in and they were all sitting there with big smiles on their faces . . . . They said, "Strip down first!" So I stripped down and they threw me in this tub of ice. Every time I tried to get out, they'd fucking slam me one. When I couldn't stand the pain any more, I dumped the tub over.
>
> They gave me this bathing suit to wear and they put this (hollow) pumpkin over my head and started to carve the eyes out while I was still wearing it. They took a can of black spray paint and wrote on my back: "I am a fuckup." Then I had to carry each guy from the clubhouse to the Dairy Queen which is about 1500 yeards; the temperature was about 18-19° and I'm almost fucking nude (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

Collective Performance - Just as demands are put on the initiate to perform, so too do club members actively participate in an organized social response (Otterbein, 1977). Joint involvement underscores a sense of belonging in that the individual's experience becomes a shared one . . . the basis of affective bonds.

> After that I go back to the clubhouse and they have this fucking little slut there; oh, was she a fucking dive! I had to fucking eat her out! First of all, they spread her legs apart. One guy got a hold of her leg one way, another the other way. Another guy pinned her arms and she couldn't move. Stu grabs her by the crotch and sort of lifts her off the table. He took a bottle of wine, shoves it up her clit and pours it down while she screams bloody murder. Then he says: "Okay, go to it." So I'm there about a half hour with the fucking thing. She was a fucking dog. She could have been a stiff for all I know. Anyways, I'm down there going at it, and I was just getting ready to stop and Stu comes up and puts his foot on the back of my head. He says: "Keep going, you mother, keep going." I was at this for about an hour. After that, Mac tells her to get on her hands and knees. He lies down and tells her to crawl over and give him a blow job. While she's sucking away, Stu gets some tranny (transmission) oil and lubricates her asshole. We took turns screwing the ass off her (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

Personal Test Situation - The whole process of striking tests the abilities and commitment of the prospect. The ordeal of a test during the initiation ceremony is emblematic of having achieved and endured group standards.

> Then they said: "Here's your jeans, your shirt. Get dressed again." So I got dressed, it was about 11:00, maybe 11:30, and they say: "Go outside. Stu wants to see you for a minute." I walked outside and there's Stu standing there. He had a fucking brick in one hand and a chain in the other. He says: "You come at me or I'm gonna kill you!" I looked at him and no matter how fucking strong I was, he'd beat the fuck out of me no matter what. What am I gonna do? The guy's about 6'3" and maybe 250 lbs. So the only thing I could do, I dove at the fucker. He roughed me up a bit, got up, shook my hand and said: "I wasn't going to hurt you at all. I just wanted to see if you had the guts to stand up to me." So that was that. We went back inside and finished the party; everybody crashed at about three or four o'clock (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

The aspect of testing under these circumstances plays a vital role in that it carries the mystique of a highly personal challenge. Meeting that challenge leads to the satisfaction of having "made it"; the more one has to extend oneself the greater the sense of accomplishment.

> I was very green when I first came into the (Satans) Choice. It was an experience, it really was . . . I think that every member should have to go through a striking period, it is a great experience and I feel that every biker needs to be a striker before he can be a good solid biker. Being a striker teaches you what being a member of an outlaw club is all about. You learn a lot in those twelve short weeks. From growing up and finally getting an idea where your head's at to knowing what direction you plan on going. You're tested in many ways before you become a full-fledged member. When I got my colours it was the proudest moment of my life (Gypsy, Road Captain, Satans Choice M.C.).

The element of self-actualization is particularly powerful when it is achieved within the context of a deviant role. The transgression of social norms has the inherent quality of personal choice. All of us have the malingering feeling that we would have to transcend the institutionalized and the ordinary to find our true selves. The undertaking of such a venture imparts a feeling of self-control, a sense of having chosen one's own destiny.

Author: What were you doing prior to joining the club?

Blues (Rebels M.C.): I was not going in any particular direction at the time, and it was either the club or the R.C.M.P. It was really heavy, you know. Then I realized that the only reason that I would have been going to the R.C.M.P. at the time was because my parents wanted me to, and about six minutes after I realized that, I said: "Piss on it!" Then I met the club and I found out, now this is something _I_ want to do . . . I took it as a lifestyle from that point on.

Author: In what way does being a Rebel make you different from the average individual . . . "Joe citizen"?

Blues (Rebels M.C.): Because I'm doing what I want to do, like I'm a Rebel. We do what we want to do, when we want to do it, but within the law sort of thing. Whereas people outside of the club, the so-called straights or non-bikers, they don't do that. They're like sheep. Maybe they're right about some things but that doesn't change the fact that they're like sheep.

Author: I think that the major thing here is that somewhere along the line you've made a choice between alternatives, whereas the average individual can go through life without actually having to make a really meaningful or decisive choice. Everything is laid out for them from A to B and then proceed to D.

Blues (Rebels M.C.): That's right, because somebody told them. Whereas with a club you definitely have to make a choice. You have to decide where your head's at, where your commitments are. You have to sit back and organize your life and say: "This is where I want to go." A lot of people can go through their whole lives without really reflecting on what they're all about . . . a lot of them do want to change but they won't because society won't let them. That's where you get a lot of conflict between society and a motorcycle club.

It is interesting to speculate that George Orwell might have considered motorcycle outlaws as a non-renewable resource.

Psychological Stress - Perpetration of psychological stress, the physical mutilation, beating, or hazing of the initiand. These attacks on the integrity of the novitiate can be interpreted as symbolizing the subjugation of the individual will to the dictates of the group. However, the psychologically more salient variable is the mental confusion and vulnerability that results. A major tenet of the psychology of affiliation, is that the affiliative tendency - the desire for togetherness - is positively related to the state of psychological stress (Middlebrook, 1974). Furthermore, psychological studies of the conformity process indicate that situations of stimulus ambiguity leave an individual particularly susceptible to viewing conformity to group standards as an instrumental means of achieving one's goals (Walker and Hegns, 1967). It would appear reasonable to propose that the arousal of stress and the fabrication of stimulus ambiguity increases the tendency to affiliate. The implication for initiation ceremonies is that under the conditions of psychological stress and stimulus ambiguity that predominate intense initiation rites, the individual will come to view group association as a means of stress reduction. The production of psychological states of stress in initiation ceremonies is related to two elements: (1) fear: the expectancy, tension and apprehension of possible injury, mutilation or worse; and (2) anxiety: produced through isolation. Schachter (1959) stated that:

> one of the consequences of isolation appears to be a psychological state which in its extreme form resembles a fall blown anxiety attack . . . it is evident that anxiety, in some degree, is a fairly common concomitant of isolation . . . (thus) if conditions of isolation produce anxiety, conditions of anxiety would lead to the increase of affiliative tendencies (Schacter, 1970:12; orig. 1959).

The agents of stimulus are the personal shock and social disorientation caused by loss of personal control. The statements of Gypsy have thus far provided the reader with evidence of pain: "When I couldn't stand the pain any more, I dumped the tub (of ice-water) over." In the commentary that follows, we find an "extreme form" of isolation in the drowning darkness of icy waters, and a general loss of control:

> They decided that I was going for a swim in the Skena River. I had no choice in the matter. They tied this rope around me; they said that they wanted to be able to pull me back in case I drowned. Mac says: "Yeah, we don't want to lose the bathing suit." Big fucking joke! When I hit the water, it was so cold I couldn't move; I couldn't even breathe. I didn't know whether to cry or shit! Everything was black and I was scared. I tried to swim and they began to pull on the rope. I didn't stop shaking for three days and almost caught pneumonia out of the fucking thing.
>
> Next morning I had to go outside and clean the shithouse. We had no toilets in the clubhouse (a deserted farmhouse) itself, so we had old fashioned shit houses. And in the wintertime, I'm down there with my brand new jeans and boots - up to my knees in fucking shit. I spent the first half hour barfing my guts out. What a fucking mess! I was gonna go change; none would let me change so I had to wear those fucking jeans for three weeks. I'd walk around - the fuckin' broads would look at you and go: "Holy fuck, do you stink! Go take a bath or something!" (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.).

The psychological state of stress generated by fear and anxiety, in conjunction with the element of stimulus ambiguity originating from a loss of personal control, increase the propensity of the initiate to view the group as his (only) means of alleviating his predicament. The logistics of this relationship is based on the fact that the group is in control of the underlying situational variables. Thus, the greater the psychological states of stress and stimulus ambiguity, the greater will be both the initiand's affiliative tendency and his proclivity to perceive the group as an attractive instrumental means. It is this process of perceptual alignment that underlies the ability of a closely-knit group to impose uniform standards on individuals in defiance of the standards of the larger society from which they emerged. The social structural implications of this process are two-fold:

(1) Social Boundary Maintenance: The initiation ceremony increases the attractiveness of the group and leads to a homogeneity of emotional intensity that begins and ends with the group members.

(2) Personal Decision Making: The increased attractiveness of the group will induce the individual member to align his self-image with that which he presumes to be the group's. Under these circumstances, the group will effectively function as a reference perspective for personal decision making in non-group structured situations.

SECTION III

THE NEGOTIATION OF GROUP IDENTITY WITHIN THE CLUB

This section constitutes an analysis of the organizational framework of the club and the fundamental role played by intracultural diversity in the operationalization of that system. Chapter 9 describes the internal structure and processes - including the organizational cornerstones of club charter in the form of a written constitution and political structure made up of "officers of the club" - which establish the group as a corporate entity. Chapter 10 describes how both variation and conflict become evident in an ongoing process of negotiation as members strive to bring the club into alignment with what they feel it ought to be. The chapter then isolates those features that are characteristic of outlaw clubs in general, that allow the Rebels to accept their heterogeneity as a basis for discussion and a precursor of growth and adaptation.

Chapter 9 - Formal Organization of the Club
Chapter 10 - The Accommodation of Diversity

Chapter 9

FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CLUB

The existence of a subculture does not require a formal organization, nor is the formation of an organization the inevitable outcome of an enduring subculture (Sagarin, 1975). The significance of a formal organization lies in the fact that it adds an institutional dimension to subcultural participation. The addition of this institutional dimension constitutes a further step in enamoring the social boundedness of the group (Ross, 1975). In her discussion of social borders, Ross identified four transitional stages in the intensification of social boundedness: (1) category; (2) collectivity; (3) intensive contact; and (4) formal organization. Following Ross, individuals may fall into the category of biker by virtue of ownership of a motorcycle. To the extent that ownership of a motorcycle carries common social ramifications, media stereotyping, norms and values, e.g., the freedom ethic of riding, members of the category may conceive of themselves as a collectivity. This perceived sharing promotes a sense of in-group identity not imputed to outsiders which goes beyond the criteria required for membership in the category. Individuals within this perceived collectivity may further separate themselves from the larger society by forming an intensive contact group. This occurs when individuals use membership in the collectivity as the basis for initiating interpersonal interaction. This interaction might be limited to collectivity-specific events such as riding together, or it may diffuse into other sectors of members' lives in the form of general friendship ties. Finally, the transition from an intensive contact group to a formal association marks the establishment of the group as a corporate entity. Characteristically, a formal association will possess: (1) a formal nomen (identity); (2) a written or traditional mandate stating the purpose of association; (3) a degree of "autonomy within a sphere of activity" with a concomitant sense of "exclusive common affairs" (Partridge, 1975); (4) written or traditional statutes outlining the criterion of membership and membership obligations, along with (5) the formal regulatory mechanisms for enforcing those statutes. These aspects of formal association mark the establishment of the group as a corporate entity whose operation is to some degree separated from the individual proclivities of members, and whose existence is capable of transcending individual members. The formal association integrates all three levels of subcultural participation - institutional, interpersonal, and personal-value - into a unified structure. The adoption of a formal organization furthermore enables the subculture to clarify the points of tangency between itself and the host society by explicitly defining the nature and extent of the boundaries that exist between itself and the host community on those three levels of socio-cultural existence.

The Rebels Motorcycle Club operates within the parameters of a well-defined but flexible formal organization. The organizational cornerstones of the club include: (a) a club charter in the form of a written constitution; (b) a political structure made up of "officers of the club," the members of which, in addition to their position-specific duties, constitute a separate decision-making body referred to as an "executive board"; (c) rules and regulations which prescribe the formal structural elements and official mechanisms of control codified in a book of rules.

Club Charter

A codified set of rules and sanctions specify the formal structural elements and regulatory mechanisms for the vast majority of motorcycle clubs. While it is mandatory for a club to have a constitution in order to qualify for Canadian Motorcycle Association (C.M.A.) or American Motorcycle Association (A.M.A.) affiliation, most outlaw clubs also find it convenient to adopt a charter of some form or another as well. This charter can take the form of a written constitution, a set of bylaws or codes, a book of rules, or any combination of the aforementioned. For example, both the Warlords M.C. of Edmonton, Alberta, and the Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary, Alberta, have constitutions. The Rebels M.C. of Edmonton, Alberta, has a constitution supplemented by a book of rules. The Satans Choice of Brampton, Ontario, has a set of bylaws and a code; the Hells Angels M.C. of San Francisco, California, has a set of bylaws; and the Satans Angels M.C. of Vancouver, British Columbia, has a set of rules and regulations. These formal codifications include such aspects as: membership qualifications, minimum participation, executive structure, formal decision making, e.g., voting procedures, and available sanctions. The following club charters are included in Appendix D for the purpose of comparative analysis:

> The Constitution of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
>
> The Bylaws and Code of the Satans Choice Motorcycle Club, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.

> The Constitution of the Kings Crew Motorcycle Club, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.
>
> Sample Constitution recommended by the Canadian Motorcycle Association for its affiliated clubs (including Articles and Bylaws).
>
> The Bylaws of the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
>
> The Rules and Regulations of the Satans Angels Motorcycle Club, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

An item analysis was conducted on the above formal codification, the results of which are summarized in Table 1.

The clubs represented in Table 1 constitute a continuum of different types of motorcycle organizations from C.M.A. chartered clubs to extreme outlaw. Yet the similarity in the basic institutionalized frameworks as itemized in the summary table is striking. This similarity in formal organization spans an arena including feelings ranging from apathy to animosity, and consequent interaction varying from mutual avoidance to instances of open hostility. The component cultural ethos of these clubs is also quite disparate, ranging from the chartered club whose members organize and compete in Canadian Motorcycle Association sanctioned activities, to those outlaw clubs whose members are involved in organized crime such as the interprovincial theft and sale of motorcycles. The extent of interclub contrast is exemplified in the two quotations that follow. The first was a statement of purpose of association by a member of a C.M.A. chartered club:

> We (members of the Golden West M.C.) took up the sport purely for the betterment of the sport and ourselves, and we are not a gang _per se_, nor are we involved with any activities that should involve us with gangs of other clubs (Len McEwen, President, Golden West M.C. in _The Albertan_, March 10, 1970).

On the other hand, an outlaw motorcycle club can become the vehicle of

TABLE 1

Formal Codification of Various Motorcycle Clubs

	Satans Choice M.C. (Bylaws & Codes)	Satans Angels M.C. (Rules & Regulations)	Rebels M.C. (Constitution-^{1}) (Book of Rules-^{2})	Kings Crew M.C. (Constitution)	C.M.A. Chartered Clubs (Constitution)	Hells Angels M.C. (Bylaws)
Executive Structure						
Executive positions			x^2	x	x	
Executive duties		x	x^2	x	x	
Executive powers		x	x^1	x	x	
Executive qualifications	x		x^2		x	
Election of executive	x		x^2	x	x	x
Membership Qualifications						
Age minimum	x		x^2	x		x
Ownership of motorcycle	x	x	x^1	x		x
Initiate (Striker) duties	x	x	x^1	x	x	x
Initiate probation period	x	x	x^1	x	x	x
Voting on initiate	x	x	x^1	x	x	x
Minimum Participation						
Mandatory runs	x		x^1	x		x
Minimal operation of cycle	x	x	x^1			x
Minimal riding season	x		x^1	x		
Payment of club dues	x	x	x^1	x	x	x
Attendance of meetings	x	x	x^2	x	x	x
Available Sanctions						
Fines	x	x	x^1	x	x	x
Probation	x	x	x^1	x	x	x
Dismissal	x	x	x^1	x	x	x

TABLE 1

(continued)

	Satans Choice M.C. (Bylaws & Codes)	Satans Angels M.C. (Rules & Regulations)	Rebels M.C. (Constitution-[1]) (Book of Rules-[2])	Kings Crew M.C. (Constitution)	C.M.A. Chartered Clubs (Constitution)	Hells Angels M.C. (Bylaws)
Decision Making						
Voting procedures	x		x[1]	x	x	x
Quorum requirements	x		x[1]	x	x	x
Rules of conduct		x	x[1]	x	x	
Change of Membership Status						
Honorary membership	x		x[2]			x
Membership resignation			x[2]	x		
Membership challenge			x[2]	x	x	
Membership expulsion	x	x	x[2]	x	x	x
Leave of absence	x	x	x[2]		x	x
Miscellaneous						
Special committees				x	x	
Club emblems/colours	x	x	x[1]	x		x
A.M.A./C.M.A. Affiliation					x	

activities which do little for the public relations of either motorcycling or motorcycle clubs:

> Like we (members of the Satans Choice M.C.) got into it too heavily. We'd hit a bike one night, and then instead of laying off for three or four weeks, we'd hit another one. The cops started to get on to us. There must have been five or six Triumphs, more than a dozen Harleys. Like we had what you'd call a ring going. We'd get a bike, say in Toronto, say tonight. We'll take it to either the Ottawa chapter, Hamilton or Montreal chapter, drop the bike off, and bring some hot shit back from Montreal with us. About eleven o'clock, we had everything ready, maybe five minutes left to go. We would have hit the road. We would have been away free. All of a sudden, there was more fucking cop cars and paddy wagons and the whole fucking thing than you can shake a stick at . . . I got eight months. I only did four months; four months, seventeen days, and six hours. I had a little calendar made up for myself every time I went in (Gypsy, Road Captain, Satans Choice M.C.).

It becomes evident that in order to account for the wide range of motorcycle clubs having similar institutional structures, it is necessary to evaluate the meaning that members give to that structure. For example, the purpose of association as expressed above by the president of the C.M.A. affiliated Golden West M.C. appears to be reflected in the constitution of the outlaw Kings Crew M.C. (1976):

> Name: King's Crew
>
> Purpose: To Preserve, Unite, and Develop Motorcycling

The impression of similarity, however, is quite misleading. As far as efforts to "develop motorcycling" are concerned, the Kings Crew M.C. are actively involved in preventing any other clubs from forming in Calgary. Their efforts to "preserve" and/or "unite" motorcycling are overshadowed by a feud with a shotgun-slinging club in Saskatchewan called the Apocolypse M.C. The Kings Crew have subsequently formed a political alliance with the Spokesmen M.C. of Saskatchewan; the purpose of the pact being the elimination of the Apocolypse M.C. Thus, similar institutional structures can have different collective meanings attached to them resulting in variant behavioural formulae. The aspect of interclub similarity arises from the fact that the formal structure is to a large extent determined by the organizations' manifest function, i.e., they are all riding clubs. Much of the interclub variation centres on the social structural variable of whether or not the institutional structure is utilized as an operational framework for the alignment of the club with the host society, or alternatively whether it is a means or vehicle of separation. This issue is largely decided in terms of whether the club is a chartered Canadian Motorcycle Association club, or an outlaw club.

Executive Structure

There is a basic similarity in the political structure that is characteristic of most motorcycle clubs, both chartered and outlaw. Motorcycle clubs will generally have (1) an executive structure made up of "officers of the club." Furthermore, as is the case with the Rebels M.C., these officers may as a unit constitute (2) a separate decision-making body referred to as an "executive board."

Officers of the club. The Rebels M.C. has the following complement of officers of the club: (a) president; (b) vice-president; (c) treasurer; (d) secretary; (e) sergeant-at-arms; and (f) road captain. While these executive positions are listed in the Rebels Motorcycle Club Book of Rules, the specific duties and powers associated with them are not detailed to any great degree. The performance of these executive roles is, rather, largely a matter of meeting situational demands against a background of traditional expectations. The synopsis of these expectations that follows is based on information received from interviews and participant observation.

(a) President - The executive duties of the president are:

(i) To act as chairman and preside over meetings of both the club as a whole, and the executive board. As chairman, the president is in a position to exercise the power of making judgements on his own concerning minor matters. For example, during a meeting at which preparations were being made for an upcoming run, the question arose as to whether sixty or seventy cases of beer were to be taken along. For the sake of expediency, Ken stated: "We'll take seventy!" and the issue was resolved. Decision making of this nature maximizes the efficiency with which meetings are run and minimizes unnecessary negative feedback between members of an organization wherein the maintenance of a working consensus was of primary concern. Minor issues are not allowed to create major waves of controversy:

> 12. Directorship gives the president authority to judge items not in the constitution (Rebels M.C. Constitution, 1975).

If the issue of contention is a major one, however, Ken does not exercise his mandate, but rather he orchestrates the meeting in such a way as to ensure that each individual has an opportunity to participate - voice his opinion - in the decision-making process. The Rebels M.C. is ultimately an organization whose purpose includes the expression and satisfaction of members' needs as opposed to being restricted to instrumental task fulfillments. Absolute rule would dessimate such a group. Thus, when a situation arises wherein heated controversy threatens to disrupt the orderliness of a meeting, Ken first asks the sergeant-at-arms to restrain the members. Thereupon, he goes from individual to individual and asks for his opinion on the matter at hand. Lastly, Ken will summarize the issues and call for a vote. The presidency position requires not so much the fulfilling of a formal mandate as it does the coordination of diverse opinionization in order to allow participation on the part of all members in the shaping of the club's working hypothesis.

The ultimate decision-making capacity has its greatest implications for decision making outside the context of club meetings and the isolated confines of the clubhouse. In situations outside of their home territory wherein the club was not in complete control or faced a threat, it becomes vital that the expression of opinions be controlled, if not minimized, and that the club act as a unit. Thus, if members' differences become too disruptive or volatile in a public arena, Ken would either say, "Back off, we'll discuss it later!" or if the situation allowed he would conduct an impromptu meeting on the spot. It is not the president's function to run the club and/or demand unquestioning conformity, rather his role is to lead the club by integrating their varying goals and strategies into a collective plan of action.

(ii) The president serves as the personal representative of the club in areas of public relations such as the issuing of statements to the media, granting or denying interviews, etc.:

> He has everything to do with club public relations. Like he makes a decision as to whether we'll make a public announcement on something or not. He makes the decision; he does the announcing. We don't want any foulups; we want it to come from the top. That's the way it is (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Information forthcoming from the Rebels M.C. is thus controlled in the sense that is channelled through one primary source, the president. The president acts as a gate or border-keeper by restricting and monitoring the nature and extent of communication between the Rebels M.C. and the host community.

Author:	What sort of public relations has he (Ken) engaged in in the past?
Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.):	Different newspapers or magazines come around trying to get stories. The radio stations have been trying to get him to come on talk shows like CJCA, and the (Edmonton) Journal wanted to do a story on us.
Author:	Has Ken done any of these?
Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.):	No, we've refused them.

As spokesman, Ken would communicate the opinion of the club to people outside of the club. This form of contact served to stabilize relationships with the host community and avoid unnecessary conflict. Thus, if Ken sensed antagonistic feelings between members and a non-member, it would be his obligation to say: "I don't think that you should come around here anymore." In a similar manner, if a sensitive matter arose between two members, Ken could be employed as a neutral intermediary.

(iii) The president supervises major economic transactions, especially those that see group resources cross group boundaries. It was observed that Ken initiated and signed the necessary contracts for renting a hall for a dance - a money-making proposition, the renting of the clubhouse, and was the primary figure in negotiating a club land purchase. As part-owner of Brothers Custom Motorcycle Ltd., Ken had experience as a small businessman and was both familiar with, and efficient in, such transactions.

(iv) The president furthermore acted as a liaison between the Rebels M.C. and the local law enforcement agencies which included the Edmonton City Police and a detachment of Royal Canadian Mounted Police. For example, it was Ken who activated an arrangement with Corporal

Ritchie of the R.C.M.P. - B & E (Break and Enter) Detail, that alleviated an annual concern: the confiscation of their motorcycles on suspicion of theft by law enforcement agencies when riding outside the Edmonton area. The Rebels "chop" (customize) their Harleys which often results in motorcycles having no visible serial numbers on the frame (covered with moulding) or, by virtue of the continual exchange of parts, serial numbers on the engine casings not corresponding to those on the frame. In 1973, the Rebels were stopped in Kelowna, British Columbia, and six of their bikes were confiscated for a three-week period while suspect registrations were confirmed. Under these circumstances the police have the right to disassemble suspected stolen vehicles in order to establish identification; this procedure often translates into the member carrying his scooter home in a basket. The threat of vehicle confiscation is an effective technique employed by R.C.M.P. in the British Columbia Okanagan Valley in order to discourage "illegitimate" bikers from visiting their centres in the future:

> Last year we confiscated six or seven bikes from a Calgary group. It looked like their serial numbers had been altered. We get less bikers now . . . . Being located (in Kelowna) between Vernon and Penticton, we get radio reports from those centres. When what is left of a club passes through we wait for them and give them a police escort from one end of town through to the other (Ken Attry, Staff Sergeant, Kelowna R.C.M.P.).

Author:	Were any of the bikes stolen?
Ken Attry (R.C.M.P.):	No, but there's always the possibility that . . .

The arrangement that Ken established with Corporal Ritchie was that members annually (every spring) allow the R.C.M.P. to take photographs of them with their motorcycles for general surveillance purposes. In return, the Rebels receive individual copies of these photographs with their respective names and an R.C.M.P. stamp on the back. These photographs have proven to be both impecable and invaluable proofs of ownership:

> It saved my hog (Harley-Davidson) for me once. I was in Vancouver doing a little fishing around the bay area when this striker from the (Gypsy) Wheelers (M.C.) comes along and says: "Hey, Blues, they're taking away your bike!" So I dropped my rod and went running like hell to where my scooter was parked. And there was this tow truck there and this dink was about to strap my bike onto the truck, and this Vancouver cop was standing there writing something down. I told the tow truck driver to fuck off. Then I walked up to the cop and said: "Hey man, that's my bike and you're not about to tow it away." He says: 'It looks like it was stolen, and you've got no serial numbers.' You see, my bike was chopped and it didn't have any boss (serial) numbers, so I told him I had them written down. But he starts getting heavy and says: "Don't give me that shit!" and he goes on. So I take out my (R.C.M.P. verified) pictures and his whole attitude changes eh. He doesn't say a word. He waves off the tow truck, hops into his cruiser, and drives off (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

Ken adopted the policy of informing the R.C.M.P. about their destination for any major excursions such as a mandatory run. The local R.C.M.P. reciprocated by not initiating any "unnecessary hassles" such as a bike-to-bike drug check, and, depending on the club's destination, would provide a police escort. This aspect of cooperation and element of mutual respect resulted in members evaluating the local R.C.M.P. as a very "professional" police force and doing little to aggrevate the situation.

(v) The president is usually one of the more sedentary members of the club with a long-standing place of residence, e.g., Ken was one of two members who owned their own homes. In contrast, a large number of the other members had as many as four address/telephone number changes during the course of a year. This relative domestic stability enabled the president to function as the connecting link between clubs (his home address would be used for written correspondence) in addition to being the point of contact for visiting members of other clubs. In a similar fashion, a Rebel travelling through Saskatoon would phone up Smokey Rae, president of the Spokesmen M.C. who would set about providing for his guest's needs.

(vi) As president, Ken assisted other Rebel officers and members in the interpretation and performance of their club tasks in particular, and the promotion of club life in general. The president was available for the purpose of counselling at all times. Ken, a darter (original) member of six years, was consulted by members on the interpretation of certain rulings and options available to members concerning club matters. For example, the Saint asked Ken as to what steps were necessary to obtain a six-month leave of absence so he could spend the winter working in Victoria rather than Edmonton.

(b) Vice-President - (i) The explicit role of the vice-president is to assume the responsibilities of the presidency, and to perform the duties associated with that office at those times when the president is unable to do so.

(ii) It was observed that while the above "official" duties are both provisional and temporary in nature, the role of vice-president, as enacted by Terrible Tom, served a continuous if latent function in counter balancing the disruptive side-effects that result from the club's strong commitment to participatory democracy. As documented earlier, the president is the central figure in providing a medium for both the coordination and expression of individual members' opinions and interests. This overt expression of intermember diversity creates the problem of controlling resentments and hostilities that inevitably emerge during the course of group decision making. While the function of the president was that of primal leader in regulating the group process through harmonizing individual efforts, the vice-president neutralized potential hostilities by providing a high profile (i.e., executive) example or model of uncompromised commitment to the members as a whole. Tom, unlike Ken, was neither one of the most creative or articulate members; however, he was reelected to the office of vice-president with a degree of regularity that was based on his unquestioned and exemplary "love for the club."

> Author: What qualities make Tom a good vice-president?
>
> Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): His love for the club. That's what got him the position. His constant concern for the club . . . . Tom was the one who really pushed brotherhood in the club until it became a real thing.
>
> Author: How does Tom go about pushing something like the brotherhood?
>
> Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): It starts out by, you know, "This isn't the way a brother would act toward another brother. You're doing the wrong thing," and he admitted it, and 'so that must be brotherhood.' But it's just pointing it out, what is brotherhood and what is not brotherhood. A lot of guys have seen that what Tom has to say is correct; so we founded a brotherhood, a way to act.

Thus, the differentiating or centrifugal tendencies brought about by individual members or groups of members openly pursuing conflicting interests or policies might otherwise seriously fragment the group if they were not counterposed by the high profile centripetal processes of actively pursuing brotherhood: an organizing principle that serves to integrate the group as a whole.

(c) Treasurer - The treasurer in effect acts as the Rebels M.C. accountant. The range of responsibilities associated with the office of treasurer include the monitoring and recording of the club's income and expenditures along with overseeing the settling of club accounts. The specific tasks included in this range of responsibilities are: the monthly payment of the clubhouse rental fees, the collection of membership dues, depositing funds into the bank and writing cheques on withdrawals, keeping track of club loans to members, the handling of the beer fund, payment of lawyer fees, the purchase of supplies such as motor oil or foodstuffs, etc.

(d) Secretary - The duties of the secretary are to record the minutes of the club meetings, to maintain the Book of Rules as accurately as possible in terms of additions, deletions or modifications, and to handle club correspondence.

(e) Sergeant-at-Arms - The sergeant-at-arms is the physical enforcer of the club's dictates or policies. It is the sergeant's duty to maintain order at club meetings in particular, and club activities in general. The sergeant-at-arms has automatic support of the club members should he decide to settle a dispute between members, with other clubs, or involving outsiders. The amount of force that he employs is a matter of his personal discretion; however, he is fully accountable to the membership, and will himself be fined if he is found to have overreacted.

(f) Road Captain - The road captain acts as the chief executive officer with respect to managing the club during the course of a Rebel run: "When it comes to being on the road, he's sergeant, president, everything!" The road captain plans the route that is to be taken to reach their destination. Riding lead bike, the road captain sets the speed at which the club will travel and makes general on-the-road decisions such as when to pass an obstructing vehicle, etc. The road captain's role as chief decision maker makes him responsible to the club for any fines or interference from the police which are the results of his misjudgements, e.g., speeding tickets. The road captain and his two assistants ensure that the Rebels travel in a tight formation and provide assistance to any motorcycle unit that suffers a mechanical breakdown. The road captain assumes the above responsibilities only during the course of an official run and not when members are riding together on a casual basis such as an informal "boogie to the bar."

Executive board. Those individuals who are elected as "officers of the club" automatically become members of the "executive board," with the notable exception of the treasurer. In addition, two members who are not officers of the club are elected to the executive board. The executive board holds its meetings every two weeks or upon the occasion of some demanding circumstances that has to be dealt with. The club business that the executive board concerned itself with included: (1) the discussion of the progress of strikers; (2) the monitoring of intra-club conflict; and (3) a general discussion of the overall club situation.

(1) Striker Progress Evaluation: the progress of each current striker is evaluated by the board members themselves and in terms of the feedback that they have received from the other members concerning the striker. If club opinion as a whole appears to be of a positive nature, and providing the prospect has been striking for the minimum two-month period, the executive board will vote on his eligibility for membership. In the event that the striker does not receive any negative votes, his eligibility for membership will be voted on by the club as a whole at the next general meeting. This preliminary "test vote" was initiated in 1975 and brought with it two organizational advantages: (a) it made the weekly "general club meetings" more efficient by virtue of eliminating many unnecessary "striker votes," i.e., insofar as only two negative votes denies membership, a regular weekly vote by the general membership would be counterproductive without total executive approval; and (b) intra-

group diversity was not given a high profile in the form of an exchange of conflicting opinions between members remained operative, formal publication of the fact of diversity was avoided.

(2) Monitoring Intermember Conflict: The executive board members occupy a central position in the club's informal communications network. As a result, an organizational pattern develops wherein board members are first and foremost with respect to receiving information concerning intermember conflict. The executive board will monitor the situation and intervene if either the conflict appears to be escalating towards physical blows, or upon the request of one of the two principals involved. While this function appears to duplicate the president's role as mediator, the presence of an executive board represents a number of critical organizational advantages relevant to effective operation of the group:

(i) as a unit the board serves to decentralize the club's communication system and is open to a greater volume and variety (disparity of viewpoints) of information

(ii) the executive board prevents communications lines to the the president from being overloaded and/or more judgemental requirements being placed on the president than can be handled efficiently by one person

(iii) the executive board represents a formal sanctioning authority. Furthermore, while the board is responsible in its decisions to the membership as a whole, (a) it is in a position to solve conflicts without drawing it to the attention of the whole club, and (b) if sanctions are deemed necessary, the negative implications for the brotherhood are minimized in the sense that the executive board is one formal step removed.

(3) Assessing the Club's State of Affairs: The executive board reviews various aspects of the club's functioning such as the club's financial situation or the presence of outside threats, etc. Recent developments in these areas of the Rebels M.C. operation are discussed

and summarized. The board's assessment and recommendations are then presented to the membership at the weekly club meeting. Based on the board's recommendation, the Rebels will formulate an appropriate plan of action, for example, a club boogie might be planned in order to raise capital for the club coffers, or the Rebels arsenal will be prepared in response to the threat of the Grim Reapers M.C., formerly of Calgary, attempting to establish themselves in Edmonton.

Chapter 10

THE ACCOMMODATION OF DIVERSITY

Prior to joining any group, a novitiate will formulate a provisional group image of what the group is all about. This group image will include not only the structure and functioning of the group itself, but also what membership implies for himself in terms of both mutual obligations and benefits. While this initial group image is certain to be later modified by group realities as yet unknown or unexperienced to him as a novitiate, he will, as a member, continue to attempt to make the actual group correspond with what he considers to be an ideal type. Informal observations and formal testing of the Rebels Motorcycle Club indicated that intracultural diversity emanates from intermember variation in the form of diverse personal orientations towards the group's core ideology:

(1) Members have different perceptions of the group goal.

(2) Members are committed to the group goals to varying degrees.

(3) Members have distinct personal goals that they hope to achieve through group participation.

In effect, members have different theories of group culture. Much of the internal group tension and organizational dynamics that result focus upon the process of negotiation as members - each with their own unique theory of group culture - attempt to bring the club into alignment with what they feel it ought to be.

Variation, in the form of diverse theories of group culture, and conflict, in the form of members attempting to operationalize their diverse theories of group culture, are here viewed as natural, if not inevitable, consequences of individuals interacting in an organizational context. However, the comparative strength of an organization can be measured in terms of both (1) the organization's capacity to accommodate variation/conflict and still maintain its basic elements or relationships, and (2) the ease and rapidity with which the organization returns to a state of equilibrium (normalcy), after absorbing an incident of conflict. The remainder of this chapter concerns itself with demonstrating actual instances of variation in members' theories of group culture, as noted above, and delineating those organizational factors that affect either the accommodation of this variation or the eventual course of conflict resolution that results.

Members' Different Perceptions of the Group Goal

The study's investigation of subcultural border maintenance involved an examination of how membership in the Rebels Motorcycle Club affects members' interaction with people who are not members, i.e., outsiders. Included in the formal analysis were members' responses to the question: "Why is the Rebels Motorcycle Club an 'outlaw' club?" (Appendix A, Question II C 36). The sample responses given below indicate the range of divergent perspectives held by members on the issue of group separateness.

> I don't think it is an outlaw club in that we (members) are not outlaws. Mind you, we do wear an outlaw patch; and the Rebels is a well-respected name. But I think it's only an outlaw club because that's what the citizens on the street class you as (Ken, Rebels M.C.).

> We're an outlaw club because we do what we want to do, and not what the average citizen expects us to do . . . . In the club's eyes, an outlaw biker means doing what we believe in, not what everybody expects us to be like. After you've stood up for your (club) patch, then it's an outlaw patch (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

Members recognized the fact that within the framework of the club there existed an extreme "one percenters," a moderate, and a conservative faction.

Disagreements between these factions surfaced during various decision or policy making situations. For example, two members demonstrated variation in operationalizing their theories of group culture when they disagreed on the validity of a member's invitation to two outsiders to attend a party at the clubhouse. Prior to the incident, Ken, a six-year member and president of the club, had given the author his version of the presumed group identity concerning the issue of subcultural border maintenance when asked if there were any rules related to guests coming out to the clubhouse:

> Yeah, we don't allow anyone out at the clubhouse unless he's on a motorcycle, or we definitely know is a biker, with an invitation and an escort by a member. We definitely don't want a hippie coming out and asking what's going on. If anyone came out there without an invitation or escort, they'd be told to take off, or whatever (Ken, President, Rebels M.C.).

The member who issued the invitation, Jack, felt that the two outsiders were eligible as guests insofar as they both rode bikes, had been friendly enough in the bar, were stopping over in Edmonton as part of a "righteous" 6,000 mile cross-country tour which had originated in St. Catherines and, as the member pointed out: "I'd like to see hospitality to bikers as our (the club's) first name." The member who challenged the invitation, Blues, focussed in on the fact that one of the guests was riding a Kawasaki 900, a Japanese motorcycle:

> I'm not going to have that piece of shit here. That's a racer's bike. You drive a Harley because you know where it's at as far as bikes go. I don't want that thing parked by my clubhouse. I drove out here to get away from that sort of crap (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

Although Jack and Blues agreed that riding a Harley Davidson was a necessary criterion in order to be a member, or even a friend of the club, Blues, however, had gone one step further and had incorporated "riding a hog" (Harley Davidson) into his interpretation of what the group identity was all about as far as the criterion for being a guest of the club was concerned. Blues had in effect drawn the string on social boundaries tighter than Jack.

It is expected that conflict which arises on the inter-individual level - in this case the result of two members differing in their perceptions of the group value system - will be resolved by the members concerned negotiating a compromise. If this process fails to settle the issue and the situation threatens to become volatile, an executive officer will enter the discussion as a third party and, if necessary, effect an arbitrary decision . . . ideally a decision that does not involve the creation of a losing party. Ken fulfilled his presidential function and regulated the conflict by acting as a mediator between the two opposing parties. In his role as primal leader (president), Ken exercised the judgement of King Solomon: the guest could stay but the bike couldn't. The compromise solution involved the guest parking the Japanese motorcycle in a ditch by the highway entrance, two hundred and fifty yards away from the clubhouse and beyond the view of the members.

If the nature of the issue giving rise to the conflict is such that it holds implications for the club as a whole, a parliamentary strategy will be implemented for its resolution. Within the controlled organizational setting of the group, such as club meetings taking place at the clubhouse, the Rebels Motorcycle Club is relatively isolated from threatening pressures emanating from outside groups. In the absence of external threat, the perception and behavioural expression of diversity does not have negative implications for either group or individual welfare. The parliamentary procedure involves normative mechanisms for the expression of variation, e.g., opinionization, the elicitation of conflict, e.g., debate, and the reaching of consensus, e.g., a standardized decision making procedure in the form of voting.

During the course of the author's participant-observation of the Rebels M.C., a situation arose which saw members take incompatible positions in regards to a fundamental issue concerning the club's future. The issue arose as to whether or not the Rebels Motorcycle Club should form a chapter in Red Deer. Members promoting expansion wanted to see the Rebels Motorcycle Club become a larger organization. They furthermore argued that a chapter located in Red Deer would deter the northward movement of the Grim Reapers Motorcycle Club, a rival club based in southern Alberta. This policy innovation was opposed by those members who wished to promote the Rebels Motorcycle Club as a tightly-knit unit and who felt that expansion would result in the depletion of both material and personnel resources. When members failed to reach a consensus through informal discussions the matter was raised at a meeting, debated, and resolved through a vote - expansion was rejected. The parliamentary strategy, as it is enacted in the context of the Rebels M.C., is characterized by a number of features that generate a positive quality of participation on the part of its members.

Preceding the meeting members will have inevitably engaged in an informal exchange of information concerning the potential of certain solutions to the problem at hand. These discussions were observed to take place in informal settings, such as the club bar, under amiable circumstances, e.g., drinking together. As a result there is minimal emotional hostility or aggression. Intermember differences come to be viewed as logical alternatives as opposed to aberrations. These brainstorm sessions promote an undisciplined, sometimes humorous, but always creative exploraation of raw ideas - a maximum intercommunication of viewpoint. The effects of these preparatory activities carry over to the formal meeting and serve to reduce the possibility of the members focussing on a we-they distinction as opposed to a we versus the problem orientation.

Blues (Rebels M.C.): They're (new members) not living up to my (personal) expectations, but they're living up to my (club) ideals. We (older members) pretty well built the club; and like they live up to the Constitution and things like that, that we've laid down. But I'm not saying that they follow us a hundred percent; because then we'd never change, and we're always changing.

Author: Why do you feel that there would be no change?

Blues (Rebels M.C.): Because the idea of the club would get so monopolized that it wouldn't work. You wouldn't get any change and we would always be staying with the same horse . . . it just wouldn't work without new ideas and change.

Author: In that case, what, or who, decides what the purpose of the club is?

Blues (Rebels M.C.): It's something that is going on in the mind of each and every member.

During the course of the meeting, orderly communication of opinions is mediated by the president, providing each individual with an opportunity to speak, but avoiding the domination by any one individual or faction. The Sergeant-at-Arms enacts formalized procedures that ensure the orderly handling of any dispute that threatens to get out of hand. Finally, a formalized voting procedure provides due process for settling resolution to the conflict. It should be emphasized that a formalized structure and process for decision making does not preclude a group style that is characterized by openness, candor, and general "bullshitting," that produces a relaxed and non-stressful environment. For example, at one meeting, Indian began a pretence that he had gotten drunk during the mid-session beer break. Steve was the Sergeant-at-Arms at the time.

Steve (Rebels M.C.):	Are you drunk?
Indian (Rebels M.C.):	(Jokingly responds) Yeah, sure, why not!?
Steve (Rebels M.C.):	Good! That's a ten dollar fine. Pay up after the meeting!
Indian (Rebels M.C.):	Hey, wait a minute! I'm not drunk!
Steve (Rebels M.C.):	Glad to see that you've sobered up. You can stay for the meeting, but you still have a ten dollar fine to pay.

Members accepted both the procedures involved in the parliamentary strategy, and the possibility that a partial agreement may have to serve as the basis for decision making.

> No one person can stand there and say, "Well, this is what the club is all about, and that's that." Everything that happens to the club, or that the club does, is put to a vote. Everybody knows what is expected of them, but then everybody also has their say. You don't always get your way, but you always get your say. It's put to a vote; majority rules (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

Members furthermore recognize the fact that while certain club policies may lack total consensus, the club's survival - in an often hostile environment - depends on total commitment in carrying out those plans of action: "In many ways the club is like a safe. There may be a lot of loose change on the inside, but when the door to the safe opens, the Rebels come out as one" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.). Thus, members of the Rebels M.C. participate in moulding the group paradigm through an institutionalized framework (parliamentary strategy), wherein they are able to innovate, evaluate, and control group policies. Individual divergence in effect shapes the ongoing political rhetoric, forms the basis of social change, and is accepted as part of the group process.

Members' Varying Degrees of Commitment to the Group Goals

The assessment of members' personal commitment to the group included an analysis of their response to the following two-part question (Appendix A, Question II B 31):

(a) If a conflict arose which resulted in a one-or-the other choice, between being a Rebel and the following, which would you choose?

(i) Job ______ Rebel ______
(ii) Old lady ______ Rebel ______
(iii) Family ______ Rebel ______
(iv) Relatives ______ Rebel ______
(v) Outside friends ______ Rebel ______

(b) Do you think other members would make the same choice?

Yes ______ No ______

The responses of the six members taking the formal questionnaire are tabulated below:

Question	Respondent	Choice	Comments
(a) (i) - Job	Ken	Rebel	"No"
	Caveman	Rebel	"I'd say to whoever I was working for to stick it up their ass!"

Question	Respondent	Choice	Comments
(a) (i) - Job	Steve	Rebel	"A choice between the two . . . the job would definitely go by the boards. I'd say, 'Shove it up your ass! I'll be a Rebel!'"
	Blues	Rebel	"No"
	Larry	Rebel	"Well, I'd have to choose membership. But I don't see why that should interfere with a job. But if it did, I'd find myself another job."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Rebel."
(a) (ii) - Old Lady	Ken	Undecided	"That would depend on who pushed me." Author: You mean if the club pushed, you'd go to the old lady, and if the old lady pushed, you'd go to the club? "I definitely feel that's what would happen."
	Caveman	Rebel	"That is a hard question to really, when you start talking about it, you know. Like if my old lady came up to me and gave me an ultimatum between her and the club, I guess I'd say, 'Well, I guess it'll have to be the club'. If the time ever comes that I want to get married and settle down, I'll quit the club, because I know I won't be able to put the proper amount of time into both. Like I'd have to be devoted to one or the other."
	Steve	Rebel	"It's already come up several times and she always threatens to leave, but she never does."
	Blues	Rebel	"No."
	Larry	Old Lady	"Yeah, I'd say so, she's ahead. It's hard to say. Like if she starts fooling around, I'll bounce her out."

Question	Respondent	Choice	Comments
(a) (ii) - Old Lady	Raunch	Rebel	"Rebel."
(a) (iii) - Family	Ken	Rebel	"No."
	Caveman	Rebel	"I'd choose the club. I take it you're referring to the parental trip, being disowned and all that."
	Steve	Rebel	"Rebel."
	Blues	Rebel	"No."
	Larry	Family	"My family is number one to me."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Rebel."
(a) (iv) - Relatives	Ken	Rebel	"No."
	Caveman	Rebel	"The club."
	Steve	Rebel	
	Blues	Rebel	"No."
	Larry	Rebel	"I'd choose the club."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Rebel."
(a) (v) - Outside Friends	Ken	Rebel	
	Caveman	Rebel	"I'd choose the club."
	Steve	Rebel	"Rebel."
	Blues	Rebel	"No."
	Larry	Rebel	"The club first."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Rebel."

(b) Do you think other members would make the same choice?

	Respondent	Choice	Comments
(a) (i) - Job	Ken	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Caveman	Rebel	"A lot of guys. The majority anyways."
	Steve	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Blues	Rebel	"Oh yeah, definitely."
	Larry	Rebel	"Yeah, I'd say so."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Yeah."
(a) (ii) - Old Lady	Ken	Undecided	"That's hard to say. I don't know."

(b) Do you think other members would make the same choice?

	Respondent	Choice	Comments
(a) (ii) - Old Lady	Caveman	Rebel	"Well, I've seen a couple of members fall because of old ladies. But the majority of the guys with the club now, yeah."
	Steve	Rebel	"I think so, yeah."
	Blues	Rebel	"Hmm, I think so."
	Larry	Old Lady	"Some would, some wouldn't. Probably most of the guys with regular old ladies or married sort of thing."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Yeah."
(a) (iii) - Family	Ken	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Caveman	Rebel	"Yeah, I would say so."
	Steve	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Blues	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Larry	Family	"Some would, yeah. Again, those guys with family, eh?"
	Raunch	Rebel	"Yeah."
(a) (iv) - Relatives	Ken	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Caveman	Rebel	"All the guys probably."
	Steve	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Blues	Rebel	"Yes."
	Larry	Rebel	"Yeah, they would."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Yeah."
(a) (v) - Outside Friends	Ken	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Caveman	Rebel	"Um hmm, for sure!"
	Steve	Rebel	"Yeah."
	Blues	Rebel	"Oh, for sure."
	Larry	Rebel	"Um hmm. Yeah, I'd say so."
	Raunch	Rebel	"Yeah."

Informal comment made by Blues after answering the questions: "The club comes first and that's the way it is! . . . . It has to be that way!"

At the outset, it should be stated that the members' overall response to Question II B 31 is indicative of a fundamental commitment to the Rebels M.C.:

	Alternative Commitment	Rebel Commitment
Job	0	6
Old Lady	1	4 + 1 Undecided
Family	1	5
Relatives	0	6
Outside Friends	0	6
	Alternative 2 (6.6%)	Rebel 27 (90.0%)
		Undecided 1 (3.4%)

However, it also becomes evident that a range of variation is introduced by members actively negotiating and contesting the group image (their theory of group culture), in light of both personal and situational factors. What is specifically being negotiated is the degree of isolation from outside society - as represented in the above question by the non-club commitments - which is required of, presumed for, group members. The causal relationship that underlies these expectations is that the greater the commitment to the club, the greater the club's influence on non-club activities.

The non-club commitment that poses the greatest threat to unmitigated club dedication is the male-female bond. Both Blues and Caveman oppose being married while maintaining membership in the club: "Marriage and biking don't mix" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.). "There are no biker weddings, only ex-biker weddings" (Blues, Rebels M.C.). Larry and Steve obviously don't agree with the above position insofar as while they are both active club members, they are also both married.

Larry:	Steve:
Old lady	Old lady
Married	Married
Child	Child

Furthermore, while the personal situations of Larry and Steve are quite similar, they are studies in contrast with respect to how they balance their domestic obligations with club commitments:

Larry	Steve
Old lady X Rebel ___	Old lady ___ Rebel X
Family X Rebel ___	Family ___ Rebel X
Verbal Comment:	Verbal Comment:
"Yeah, I'd say so. She's (old lady) ahead of the club. My family is number one to me."	"It's already come up several times now. She (old lady) always threatens to leave because of the club, but in the end she never does."

Another dimension of divergence emerges in terms of how members view the nature of the relationship between personal obligations and club commitments. The distinct perspectives that become apparent concerning this issue reflect the personal factors of the members concerned. For Larry, the relationship is strictly one of personal preference reflecting the situational factors of the member concerned: "Well, (unlike himself) there are some members who would be just concerned with the club; but that's because they've got nothing else. Like my family comes first, let's face it" (Larry, Rebels M.C.).

There are indications that members modify their individual constructs of presumed behaviour (the behaviour/underlying beliefs they attribute to others). The psychological function or utility of these "modifications" is viewed as allowing members to accommodate their own personal strategies of adapting to decision (choice) making situations. Examples of group culture (presumed behaviour) modifications:

(1) The indecisiveness of Ken's response, "That's hard to say. I don't know," to the presumed behaviour question, "Do you

think other members would make the same decision?," reflects the tentative nature of his own approach to such a decision-making situation (Old lady - Rebel), "That would depend on who pushed me."

(2) Caveman would choose being a Rebel over his old lady (perceived personal behaviour) as he feels "the majority of the guys with the club now" would (presumed behaviour). It is interesting to note, however, that if he was to "settle down" and "get married," he would "quit the club" (perceived personal behaviour) which is reflected in his presumed behaviour response: "Well, I've seen a couple of members fall because of old ladies."

The psychological process of selective perception is invariant across all cultures. What does vary from one cultural setting to another is the phenomenon that is being selectively perceived. Within the framework of the Rebels M.C. selective perception becomes salient in two respects: (i) members modify their perception of others in a manner that brings their theory of group culture into alignment with their personal goals and plans of action, and (ii) members minimize their perception of intermember variation.

The fact that selective perception serves to reduce the recognized presence of variation in members' commitment, should not be interpreted as signifying the complete absence of any behavioural manifestation of that variation. Variation in commitment - here defined as establishing the group as *a priori* and exclusive - will, on occasion, make its presence known in regards to subcultural border maintenance. For example, focussing on the group social network: although there are no formal rules directly related to the matter of interacting with outsiders, there is an explicit understanding that inter-member friendship ties formed in the context of the brotherhood are prior in importance to all other social contacts. This priority of the brotherhood, along with the foundation for isolationism established in other areas of the club's operation, leads to a presumed group identity that precludes interaction with outsiders in the same context as interaction with members. That is, when one is with one's brothers, one does not pollute the social atmosphere with outsiders. The operational definition of outsider includes people who do not overtly share club and/or members' interests. This general understanding is outlined below as it applies in the context of members drinking in the bar:

Author: What types of contact do the members as a group have with outsiders?

Raunch (Rebels M.C.): We have no real contact with them other than buying gas or eating in a restaurant, and that's about it.

Author: Is there a common understanding that you avoid outsiders in the bar?

Raunch (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, there is.

Author: Is it talked about?

Raunch (Rebels M.C.): Not really. It's just generally understood that when you're sitting in the bar, you're not supposed to have any straights hanging around.

The dialogue between several members that follows below took place in the Rebels M.C. club bar. The incident revolves around one member, Snake, who for personal reasons and with no particular success, attempted to introduce a degree of variation in the operational group identity concerning outsiders.

Killer (Rebels M.C.): Hey Snake, what kind of bike does your friend ride?

Snake (Rebels M.C.):	He doesn't. He's a close friend of mine. He just plays the guitar.
Danny (Rebels M.C.):	We don't give a shit! There's no room for him. Tell him to get lost!

The social structural situation at the club bar, however, is not simply a matter of maintaining subcultural boundaries. The club is a voluntary association which can perpetutate itself only by crossing those same boundaries with the intent of soliciting potential strikers from the ranks of the host society. The club bar - a public bar or inn which the Rebels frequent on a regular basis - acts as the point of cultural interface between the club and the host society where the recruitment of novitiates takes place (Chapter 15). The paradoxical demands placed on the group by the requirement of organizational integrity (the maintenance of club boundaries), and the necessity of organizational perpetuity (the recruitment of new members), is solved by members who by virtue of disparate attitudes towards outsiders, enact two different types of roles in their presence. One group type might be metaphorically labelled "the wall." The wall is comprised of those Rebels who actively manipulate the stereotype laid upon them by the dominant society in a manner that serves to reinforce the boundaries between the club and outsiders. An appropriate label for the other subgroup would be "the gate." The gate consists of those Rebels who selectively admit certain outsiders, and who exoticize their subcultural image and exploit the popular myth of outlaw biker prowess in an outgoing fashion. "You have to remember that before a biker strikes for the club, the club strikes for the biker" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.). The reality or perceptual impact of the wall and the gate are best described by an outsider who encounters them. Our outsider in this case was Walter Kowal, a graduate archaeology student who was working his way through university by singing in a rock band. The band, named Lover, would on occasion play at the Kingsway Motor Inn, a one time Rebel bar.

Author: How did you originally make contact with the Rebels?

Walter K.: Well Tony, the drummer, he's a biker. You know, he has a biker mentality and he thinks they're great guys; it was no problem for him to fit right in. Armand (Rebels M.C.) bought dope from the bass player . . . so I got to know these guys but I was kept on a very removed level. I could get along with guys like Clayton, Tiny, and Terrible Tom, but the rest I really didn't care to, because like I said, they tend to be too volatile; like you never knew what they were up to.

Author: How did you differentiate between the two groups? How would you decide which of the Rebels were approachable and which were not?

Walter K.: Just by their attitude. Most of these guys weren't too bad, but you could feel that you weren't welcome when you sat down at their table; and this was even after we'd (the band) had them over at several of our parties.

Author: Were you ever threatened?

Walter K.: I was never threatened physically by any of them, at any time. But it's just that you could tell. Like a guy, like Tiny, would sit down at the table, break a glass, and eat it. You know, eat the glass! He'd be entertaining and having fun with you all of the time. Whereas the other guys would sit there and remain aloof. They'd stay outside the whole thing. They wouldn't enter into the verbal banter or anything; they'd hang back. You would never know what they were saying, thinking, or anything.

Author: Aside from stonewalling you with these non-verbal cues (kinesics and proxemics), did you feel intimidated in any other way?

Walter K.: It was generally what you called the unapproachable group that got into the scraps. The guys I got along with generally didn't get involved in those things unless it looked like things were getting out of hand. So I didn't feel that they would be sort of explosive and do something weird just because I said something to them. Like

> Caveman, I saw him drop two guys coming into the doorway of the Kingsway. Those two guys never laid a finger on the sucker. Caveman just descimated them before they even hit the ground. And that intimidated me. Even though it wasn't his fault. They started hurling abuse at him, and he said something like, "You'd better leave for your own good," or something like that. They didn't, and all of a sudden, wham, bam, bam, bam, bam! I never saw anything so fast! I think what stands out most was the force of the blows. I mean I heard those things, and they were bone jarring, bummer! That sucker had arms on him that looked like legs. After that I maintained my social distance as it were. Like I said, that's terrifying. Like I figured, "Wow! Would that ever hurt!" Like "crunch!" there goes the nose . . . another operation.
>
> Author: Yeah, I know what you mean. I'd arm wrestle Caveman for drinks in the bar. It was lucky that I had a large Canada Council (Doctoral Fellowship).

Thus the diverse attitudes and varied talents of members facilitate adaptive flexibility by allowing for the selective interaction with outsiders, in particular, the recruitment of potential strikers (organizational perpetuity), while still maintaining subcultural boundaries (organizational integrity).

Members' Distinct Personal Goals They Hope to Achieve Through Group Participation

Most important for a discussion of group borders is establishing the range of subcultural influence. The actual range of a subculture's influence can be measured in terms of how many areas or levels of participation are generated within it. Three theoretically distinguishable levels of group existence can be discerned within the context of what might be termed a hierarchy of subcultural participation:

1. Formal Institutional Structure: organizational role relations including social links and behaviour activated in the context

of official club activity. For example, weekly club meetings, club constitution, political structure, club social events, etc.

2. Group Social Network: group social relations including interpersonal social links initiated by members outside the context of formal club activity. For example, drinking together in a bar, helping a member finding a place to stay, loaning money to a brother, assisting a member in the repair of his motorcycle, etc.

3. Personal Value System: values that are characteristic of members in addition to relations or activities falling outside the formal institutional structure and the group social network. For example, perceived range of job choice, manner of dress and demeanour, the central value focus around which he organizes his personal lifestyle, etc.

The actual number of levels of participation propagated will depend upon how many are legitimized in terms of the presumed group identity through the process of intermember negotiation. The social reality of the club is never static but rather is undergoing constant revision through negotiation. Given that the formal institutional structure of most motorcycle clubs - outlaw and chartered alike - is relatively invariant, the critical issue becomes whether or not participation in the formal institutional structure (level 1), forms the basis for the formation of a group social network (level 2), which in turn results in the generation of shared personal norms (level 3).

With respect to the study at hand, some motorcycle organizations, usually C.M.A. chartered clubs, were found to be largely limited to a level 1 participation: formal group structure. In these cases the meaning of club affiliation to members, as negotiated in terms of the operational group identity, is limited to the fulfillment of institutional roles as individuals and organizational tasks as a collective. As a result, the net group effect on members is relatively specific and largely confined to the institutional setting. Thus, for example, the influence on personal behaviour of membership in the Edmonton Motorcycle Club of Edmonton, Alberta, or the Blue Diamond Motorcycle Club of Kitchener, Ontario, is for the most part restricted to activities such as weekly club meetings, along with the organization of, and participation in, competition events, club tours, etc.

The formation of a group social network is contingent upon the meaning of club association extending beyond the formal group structure to include the integration of members in an informal social unit. Under these conditions, the range of club influence becomes more diffuse. Specifically, the scope of personal participation is augmented by the addition of the formation-of-friendship ties to the completion of institutional tasks; concommitantly, collective participation expands beyond the completion of organizational tasks to include the maintenance of group solidarity. Thus, for outlaw clubs such as the Rebels M.C. or the Kings Crew M.C., the "brotherhood" becomes one of the additional underlying realities of group association:

> The Rebels Motorcycle Club is more than motorcycles. These are guys you live with, you practically live with them. They're welcome in your house any time of the day or night, and when you're in their house, you do what you feel like. It's just the same as going to see your own brother, you know, everything is copaesthetic. Whereas things, like say the Elks, you might meet, well they've got such a huge organization, you might meet one guy three times a year; you don't really know him or nothing. There is a difference. And there's more to it than just meeting people and riding together, it all enters into it. It gives me a lot more friends that I can depend on and count on, not like your ordinary Joe on the street (Steve, Rebels M.C.).
>
> Well, when you get right down to it, the club has given me something to live for. It's changed my life a lot. I've got somebody else to think about besides myself now. It's good to have people that you can depend on (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

Just as participation in a formal group structure (level 1), can lead to the derivation of a group social network (level 2), participation in levels 1 and 2 is capable of effecting the generation of shared personal norms. The social-structural conditions necessary for the effective communication of personal norms include the group social network displaying a high degree of connectedness in terms of a high frequency of interpersonal contacts over a wide variety of situations. If, in addition to displaying a high degree of connectiveness, the social ties that are established are of an intense or affective nature resulting in interpersonal commitment, then sufficient conditions exist for those communicated norms to be mutually effective. Members' theory of culture - the behaviour and attitudes they attribute to other group members - provides a collective identity which members can use as a frame of reference for the construction of their respective personal identities. The "biker" legend which becomes part of an "outlaw" club member's heritage is fairly explicit in providing a number of dominating personal themes: "This may sound pretty strange to you but there are three things that a biker lives for: his club, his bike, and having a good time which means plenty of riding, lots of booze, partying and broads" (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.). In order to gauge the presence of any commonly held values that could be attributed to subcultural membership and which result in isolation of the members from the host society on a personal level, the following question was included in the formal questionnaire (Appendix A):

II C 54 (a) What things concern you most, or matters most to you as an individual (e.g., what things do you think about most or devote yourself to most)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 54(a)?

The responses received from six members participating included:

Ken

(a) 1. "The *club and my old lady*. There's a very fine line there. If I'm going to be honest, a very fine line. After that, not much really."
(b) "That's hard to say. That's *up to the individual*."

Caveman

(a) "Well, my old lady turns me on the most in bed. My bike turns me on the most in the street. Well, when I'm riding with my brothers, man, I'm getting my rocks off. *My bike*. *My club*. *My old lady*. That's about the way it goes."
(b) "I think that *basically everybody* in the club *has the same priorities*."

Steve

(a) "The *club*. The club and my *bike*, my *business*, my *old lady*. In that order."
(b) Um hmmm. *Yeah*."

Blues

(a) "Well first *the club* matters to me a hundred percent. Like that's the most.
And then, just behind that, *my brothers* as individuals, not as a majority (single unit). You can't go as a majority (single unit), because each member is an individual, he's different.
And thirdly, *my bike*.
My old lady, she matters a lot to me."
(b) "There's *quite a few of them* that do. But some of them, even some of the older members, they, the club and everything that is happening in the club, is revolving around them and their old lady. Whereas the club and everything that is happening in the club, is revolving around me; and my old lady is on the outside. But she's sort of still, she's there with me."

Larry

(a) "I look forward to coming home from work to *my family*. Like *my family comes first*!"
I look forward to *anything to do with biking*, like I'm looking forward to spring.
The club, *my brothers*, and *my bike*."
(b) "Well, again there are *some members* who *would be just concerned with the club*, but most would agree, *yeah*."

Raunch

(a) "The club means most to me. Then my bike, I guess. I don't know what would come after that. Personal comfort, I guess."
(b) "Well, yeah, to varying degrees."

The prodigious overlap in the test subject members' responses indicates a notably high degree of personal value consensus. This value focus appears to be directly related to participation in the Rebels M.C. insofar as only three non-club elements were mentioned: (i) "old lady," (ii) "business," (iii) "personal comfort." Of these three elements, only "old lady" was mentioned more than once and only once did non-club values take precedence over club related elements.

An individual's theory of group culture - his conception of what the group is all about - is a mental construct. As a mental construct, the theory of group culture is capable of being influenced by the individual personalities/proclivities, e.g., idiosyncratic needs, wants, expectations, and capabilities, of the various members involved in the group. Thus, since the locus of the theory of group culture is the minds of the individuals comprising that group, it is capable of changing as the personal attitudes of the members change, or as the members themselves change. An ex-member of the Golden West M.C. explained an overall change in the club in the following manner:

> They used to be a solid club. When I was a member of the Golden West there were only two non-Harleys (ownership of a Harley-Davidson motorcycle is a symbol of commitment to biking) . . . today they've got all Japanese machinery. They started letting Japanese garbage in and with it the Japanese garbage riders . . . they're a different class of riders . . . being a member of a motorcycle club is a seven day a week role (personal identification), they wanted one, maybe two days a week, a meeting maybe Saturday or Sunday afternoon . . . they lost all their hard riders . . . they weren't (officially) changing their style of members, it's just that the new members that were coming were riding Hondas, and the ones that were leaving were riding Harleys (Al, ex-member of Golden West M.C., Calgary, Alberta).

The theory of group culture and its subsequent influence on individual behaviour changed as a change in the personal expectations of member individuals led to a subsequent renegotiation of the meaning or reality of group affiliation. The change amounted to a loss of two levels of participation (levels 1 and 2) and took place within, and in effect left unaltered, the formal group structure.

Conclusion

Informal observation and formal testing of the Rebels Motorcycle Club indicated that intracultural diversity emanates from intermember variation in the form of diverse personal orientations towards the group's core ideology:

1) Members have different perceptions of the group goals.
2) Members are committed to the group goals to varying degrees.
3) Members have distinct personal goals that they hope to achieve through group participation.

Variation, in the form of diverse theories of group culture, and conflict, in the form of members attempting to operationalize those diverse theories of group culture, both become evident in an ongoing process of negotiation as members strive to bring the club into alignment with what they feel it ought to be. Within the isolated setting of the Rebels clubhouse, where displays of intermember differences do not convey weakness to, and consequently invite threats from, an antagonistic environment, mechanisms for the expression of variation and the resolution of conflict are institutionalized. There are a number of organizational features that are characteristic of outlaw clubs in general, that allow the Rebels to accept their heterogeneity as a basis for discussion and a precursor of growth and adaptation.

First, the formal institutional structure is characterized by ideological participation. Members participate at all levels of decision making; they are involved in the innovation, evaluation, and eventual operationalization of club policies. Political power-sharing in what is considered to be an equitable and fair manner, leads to the realistic appraisal on the part of members that the conduct of club affairs will include the recognition of their particular needs and wants. Furthermore, this sense of personal control over the direction of the club mitigates against perceiving the factions within the club as threats to the ideals that any particular faction might stand for.

Second, the group social network encapsulates members in a tightly-bound group that displays a high frequency of intermember contact over a wide variety of contact situations. The interdependence of this social unit accounts for the perception of entitativity (Shaw, 1971) among members: the feeling that members experience similar outcomes and in essence share a common fate. The perception of entitativity generates a cooperative orientation among members and dispels the feeling that conflict resolutions will be biased in favour of one faction or another. In addition, the high degree of interconnectedness of the group social network facilitates the interpersonal communication of relevant information. Faced with the inevitability of variation and conflict, members "stay in tune" (understand motives) with their brothers, and attempt to "iron things out" (cooperative information exchange) under sociable circumstances.

Third, participation in the Rebels Motorcycle Club leads to the polarization and intensification of a number of core values within members' personal value systems. A commitment to the Rebels Motorcycle Club, the brotherhood, and Harley-Davidson motorcycles, fuse together to form a common bond - an organizing principle - that holds the Rebels together. If there is a legacy which the Rebels all share, it is the articulation of those commitments in an offtimes hostile environment. For the individual member, the motorcycle subculture acts as a leverage against the larger host society; the motorcycle club becomes the vehicle through which he earns his right to be free, to be oneself, to be different, to be accepted as being different, all embodied within the whole that is called the Rebels Motorcycle Club.

Thus, it is by virtue of the totality of the conditions and means by which diversity is maintained, that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Conversely, it is by virtue of what the Rebels share as a group that allows them to draw strength from their diversity:

> DO YOU BELIEVE*
>
> Maybe we don't agree with what
>   each other does at times,
> But I believe we are a lot closer
>   to where its at
>   than they (citizens) are.
>
> So hang in there.
>
> Love our club.
>
> Love our hawgs.
>
> And love your brothers,
>   for you're all brothers of mine,
>   no better and no worse.
>
> And we'll probably all end up down there
>   together
>   when it's all over.
>
> Love ya brothers,
>
> R.F.F.R. Blues, Rebels M.C.
> (Rebels Forever, Forever Rebels)

---

*Part of a poem composed as the sun rose on the clubhouse one Sunday morning. Blues carries the original (five years now) in a stash bag tucked away inside his leathers.

SECTION IV

THE NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY BETWEEN THE CLUB AND HOST SOCIETY

This section conducts a social structural analysis of the interrelationship between an outlaw motorcycle club and the larger host society. The impact of these contact situations is shown to be that of intensifying intragroup solidarity while further defining the points of tangency between the conflicting cultures. Chapter 11 outlines the significance of establishing the clubhouse as an independent (isolated) locus of formal group functions. Chapter 12 describes the spheres of exchange and economic strategies that provide for basic operational costs ranging from the protection of club members to more ancillary entertainment-oriented expenditures. Chapter 13 makes intelligible the enigma of interclub warfare by explaining how psychological principles of identity interact with ecological facts-of-the-situation in a manner that commits outlaw motorcycle clubs to a policy of maintaining constancy in the number of clubs in a city. Chapter 14 delineates the club run as the group activity that most effectively achieves and most explicitly portrays the outlaw biker identity. Chapter 15 depicts the crucial role that intracultural diversity plays in the maintenance of a club bar - viewed as a buffer zone, or point of cultural interface - which provides a recruiting ground for new members and the sustaining of a supportive social network of non-club affiliater bikers.

Chapter 11 - The Clubhouse: Haven in a Hostile World

Chapter 12 - Economic Activity: The Financing of Subcultural Differentiation

Chapter 13 - Territoriality: The Politics of Alliance, Invasion and Warfare

Chapter 14 - Club Runs: Master Trait and Symbol of the Outlaw Identity

Chapter 15 - The Club Bar: The Maintenance of a Buffer Zone Between Conflicting Cultures

Chapter 11

THE CLUBHOUSE: HAVEN IN A HOSTILE WORLD

Without dreams of hope and pride
A man will die.

Though his flesh still moves
His heart sleeps in the grave.

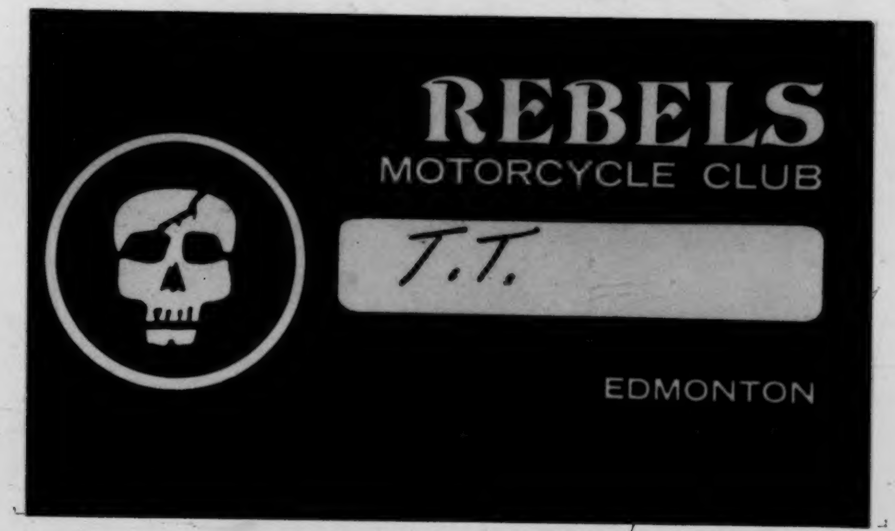
Without land a man never dreams
Because he's not free.

All men need a place
To live with dignity.

Magione, Children of Sanchez,
movie soundtrack, 1978.

All motorcycle clubs will have a central point in their network of relations that serves as the locus of formal group functions, intermember social interaction, and personal participation. The nature of this focal point will be highly reflective of the social structural temperament of the motorcycle club; that is, whether it is orthodox or "outlaw." The nature of the clubhouse will furthermore be indicative of the spectrum of organizational functions that the motorcycle club serves; that is, whether the motorcycle club is "instrumental" with its efforts largely directed towards achieving institutional tasks, whether it is "expressive" and attuned more towards fulfilling the personal needs of its members, or whether it is "instrumental-expressive" and involves some combination of the aforementioned functions.

At one end of the continuum are those clubs whose scope is largely limited to formal participation - level 1 participation. For example, The Four Owners Club Inc. of Canada and U.S.A. is an organization whose



REBELS
MOTORCYCLE CLUB

T.T.

EDMONTON

Plate 6. Rebels Motorcycle Club Courtesy Card (enlargement).

Plate 7. Rebel "iron" parked outside clubhouse.

COLOURED PICTURE

purpose is product information gathering and industrial lobbying on behalf of owners of Honda (four cylindered) motorcycles. The locus of that organization's activities consists of a mailing address. Clubs whose activities include the organization of competition events or other activities, follow the practice of renting space where members can plan these events. The facilities may include commercial property, e.g., the Husky building (Edmonton M.C. Inc., Edmonton, Alberta), community halls, e.g., the Kinsale Community Center (Oshawa Competition M.C. Inc., Kinsale, Ontario), academic premises, e.g., Notre Dame campus (Nickel Basin Cycle Association, Sudbury, Ontario), motorcycle shops, e.g., Topline Cycle Works (Edmonton Motorcycle Racing Association, Edmonton, Alberta), and so forth. Motorcycle clubs whose interests go beyond formal club activities to include activities of a more social nature generally result in the formation of casual friendship ties - level 2 participation. Characteristic of this category are "touring" and "all aspects" clubs who customarily meet in less formal settings. Thus, the Golden West M.C. of Calgary (Alberta), meet at the Wizzard Coffee House, the Nortown M.C. of Scarborough (Ontario), meet at Veteres Pizza Parlour, while the Agassiz Motto Cross Club of Agassiz (British Columbia) meet at the president's or secretary's residence. As the sphere of the club's influence expands to include formal, collective and personal areas of influence - level 3 participation - and the intensity of that participation increases, the clubhouse emerges as the focal point of subculture.[3]

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[3] The above outline is meant to be more illustrative than rigidly definitive in nature. As in many "scientific" classificatory attempts, certain elements arise - in this instance motorcycle clubs - that either combine or have none of the classificatory criteria. The Good Old Boys M.C. provides a case in point: "Good Old Boys M.C. Toronto. No dues. No rules. No regular meetings. Just a bunch of sportsmen riders from the 1950's swapping glory tales. Phone 488-9017." (Cycle Magazine, 33(12), 1975).

The Rebels M.C. clubhouse is located on a rented section of farmland along the south-eastern outskirts of the city of Edmonton. This proved to be an ideal location because, as Tiny once put it: "There's nothing out here but land, our clubhouse, our bikes and us. We can be as loud as we want, get as drunk as we want, get as stoned as we want, have as good a time as we want, doing what we fucking want, and nobody bothers us" (Tiny, Rebels M.C.). The aspect of isolation proved invaluable in two related aspects: first, members were able to engage in their activities uninhibited by police surveillance (barring the issuance of a search warrant by a judge); and second, social activities and the entertainment of guest clubs can be carried out in a "righteous" manner without aggravating the local citizenry. The possible results of a clubhouse lacking this aspect of seclusion can be illustrated through comparative analysis of two other outlaw clubs, the Bounty Hunters M.C. of Victoria, B.C., and the King's Crew M.C. of Calgary, Alberta.

The Bounty Hunters M.C. of Victoria have a clubhouse adjacent to an industrial area. This relative isolation eliminates the prospect of having neighbours in the immediate vicinity. However, the clubhouse is still well within the confines of the city, near a residential area, and directly across from a motel. While touring through British Columbia during the summer of 1975, fourteen members of the Rebels M.C. and the author visited the Bounty Hunters at their clubhouse. Upon our arrival the Victoria police immediately placed a squad car and two motorcycle cops at either end of the street. Whenever a Rebel or Bounty Hunter left the clubhouse he was pulled over, searched, and given a traffic ticket, if possible. For example, Danny was given a summons for driving an unsafe vehicle - lack of tread on his rear wheel. Two plainclothes police officers had meanwhile rented a room in the motel across the street from the clubhouse, and were keeping surveillance with a set of binoculars. The two clubs largely ignored the official welcoming party and spent the day, night, and most of the morning partying with Bacardi rum and coke (the Bounty Hunters' house specialty), "weed" of excellent vintage, and a number of tasteful females. As a safety precaution, one member continually monitored police communications using the Bounty Hunters' shortwave radio, while another watched the police at either end of the street with his own set of binoculars. The Gypsy Wheelers M.C. of White Rock, British Columbia, had a similar shortwave radio set that was capable of picking up R.C.M.P. communiques. The Wheelers would carry the radio in their club van - in addition to spare motorcycle parts, tools, food, etc. - when they went on a run. In this manner, they were able to scan the airwaves and intercept R.C.M.P. communiques, and thus manage to anticipate or avoid highway roadblocks and shakedowns.

The Bounty Hunters clubhouse is an old wooden structure and lacked central heating, so when the evening air cooled it was decided that a fire should be started in the fireplace. They chose a door inside the clubhouse for timberwood and began practising their hand axe throwing techniques. Knives and hand axes smashing and splintering the door proved to be a rude awakening for those members who had "crashed" inside the room earlier on. At 6:00 a.m. the Victoria police staged their raid. The members' early warning device had worked, however, and nothing of a legally incriminating nature was to be found, only the Bounty Hunters' collection of two hundred or so empty Bacardi rum bottles that lined the clubhouse walls. A senior officer came in and told us that we were all trash and that Victoria didn't want us here. He stormed back out when one Rebel, just waking up, groggily asked: "Who the fuck is Victoria?"

In Calgary, the Kings Crew M.C. face a somewhat more testy state of affairs. The Kings Crew M.C. use their president's house as a clubhouse. Don's house is located in Ramsay, an established residential district. The perceived contrast in living styles between "citizen" and "biker" is too extreme to be juxtaposed at such close quarters without an inevitable collision of cultures:

> Neighbours say there has been an ongoing feud since the bikers moved into the clubhouse two years ago. But most of the complaints . . . centred around a weekend party attended by the Bounty Hunters from Victoria, the Rebels from Edmonton and the Spokesmen from Saskatchewan (The Albertan, July 7, 1975, p.1).

The Kings Crew M.C. are all well aware of their position and have attempted to avoid conflict, if not normalize relations, with their neighbours:

> The man (plaintiff) admitted that neither he nor his wife was ever subjected to any verbal or physical abuse from the bikers . . .
>
> A married man . . . told The Albertan that he felt safer seeing his children talking to the Kings Crew than some other members of the community. He added that bikers often joked and kidded with his wife and children when they walked by the clubhouse, but at no time were they abused in any way.
>
> A waiter at the Shamrock Hotel, a few blocks away, said members of the Bounty Hunters showed up in the beverage room at the hotel on Friday night. But their behaviour was beyond reproach, he said (Ibid.).

As far as upkeep of the premises was concerned, Don had qualified for a Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), a federal grant administered through Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

What the confrontation between the community and the club appeared to lack were tangibles such as overt aggravations in the form of infringements upon civil property rights. The conflict was perpetuated solely on the basis of perceived sociopathic behaviour, an image that bikers so vividly portray in their dress, mannerisms, and machines. It was in effect an intangible but loud clash of cultural symbols: "Inspector Don

Nelson, information officer for the city police, says it's a 'dicey business', and there isn't much police can do until the bikers break the law" (The Albertan, July 7, 1975). The irony of the situation is the community's ready acceptance of the fact of "law abiding" citizens being "morally shocked" into illegal action:

> Some irate members of the community have called a meeting tonight at the Ramsay community hall to determine what can be done about the Kings Crew . . .
>
> Asked how far the community would go to rid themselves of the bikers, the man indicated that members of the community were angry enough to take the law into their own hands . . .
>
> While he (Inspector Nelson) sympathized with members of the community he admitted there was little police could do (Ibid.).

Irregardless of the official sympathy, Mayor Rod Sykes and Chief of Police Brian Sawyer received letters of complaint and public accusations of "not doing their job." Following the Dominion Day incident involving the Kings Crew, the clubhouse of another Calgary motorcycle club, Lucifers Union M.C., burned down. Several members were badly burned in their attempts to rescue those trapped inside. As a result of their efforts there was only one fatality. In handling the situation the Calgary police chose to have club members and guests carted away in paddy wagons, not ambulances, and have them taken to police holding cells, not hospital emergency wards. Because of their failure to maintain the furnace properly, certain members of the Lucifers Union M.C. - the owners of the house - were subsequently charged with manslaughter. From the perspective of the outlaw bikers, the police tactics were all just a matter of "sympathizing with members of the community."

In contrast to the above situations, the isolation of the Rebels' clubhouse negates police surveillance, citizen outrage, and subsequent public demands that legal authorities "do their job." In effect, it is this aspect of physical isolation that allows the Rebels to enact their lifestyle with a minimum of public profile, and a maximum degree of independence. The Gypsy Wheelers M.C. in White Rock, British Columbia, established comparable circumstances. Their clubhouse is located on an eight-acre former chinchilla ranch owned by their president, Teo. The house itself served as Teo's residence and a place for club meetings. The chinchilla barns afford the Wheelers excellent storage space - Teo has several 1930's antique cars in one - and provide facilities where members of visiting clubs can be entertained along with a place for them to "crash." For example, when several members of the Rebels M.C. stayed overnight a small bar was set up in one barn. In addition an area was set aside where a hand axe and knife throwing contest was held. Later in the evening some of the Rebels bunked in the main house, while others and the author laid our sleeping bags down in the hayloft of the barn. This conviviality between the two clubs occurred without the external harassment that marked the Rebels' visits to the Bounty Hunters in Victoria and the Kings Crew in Calgary.

Ken Redman, president of the Catwalkers Motorcycle Club, Burnaby, British Columbia, saw physical isolation as one means whereby he could alleviate some of the continual surveillance ("harassment") by the R.C.M.P. that was decimating his club:

> You got hassed huh? No surprise, there's been so much fucking heat around here it's unreal (two nights previous the R.C.M.P. had raided the clubhouse located behind the Astor Hotel and arrested three members on assault charges). I'm going to be buying some land out in the Vernon-Kelowna area. I just missed out on a deal for forty acres, just couldn't quite get the cash together on time . . . forty acres of private land, man, nobody could touch us then. We've been pretty disorganized over the past three years, but now we're starting to reorganize. The man doesn't like that and we're paying for it (Ken Redman, president, Catwalkers Motorcycle Club).

The Minority Motorcycle Club of Calgary had developed a unique variation on the clubhouse theme: a houseboat. They began in the summer of 1973 by renting a house by Marr Lake, about thirty-four miles north of Vernon, British Columbia. Every weekend a number of members would truck out equipment such as pontoons, and bike themselves out to B.C. to spend time working on their pet project. The "clubhouseboat" was a joint club venture financed by individual members purchasing shares. For members of the Minority Motorcycle Club, a scenic motorcycle run from Calgary to the Okanagan Valley would end with an undisturbed night of partying on their houseboat as they drifted down the Shuswap Lakes.

At the gate of the entrance road leading to the Rebels Motorcycle Club clubhouse hangs a sign:

PRIVATE PROPERTY
NO CARS ALLOWED

by order of Supt.

The sign is of sentimental value and had been "borrowed" from a construction site. The "No Cars" aspect symbolized that one was crossing the barrier between a four-wheeled and two-wheeled culture. When participating in the formal group structure, a member's social contacts with outsiders are largely limited to "friends of the club" and members of other clubs. The group image with respect to outside contacts is that of a closed, elite, self-interest group, with no interest in maintaining community relationships and little interest in anybody whose lifestyle doesn't overlap, parallel, or reflect the interests of the club or its members. A number of official policies and unofficial understandings ensures the maintenance of these social barriers. In order to visit the clubhouse an individual requires both an invitation and an escort. An ex-member, in good standing, could phone up the clubhouse and ask for an escort.

> Yeah, we don't allow anyone at the clubhouse unless he's on a motorcycle, or we definitely know he's a biker, with an invitation and an escort by a member. We definitely don't want a hippie coming out and asking what's going on. If anyone came out there without an invitation or escort they'd be told to take off, or whatever (Ken, president, Rebels Motorcycle Club).

The quarter-mile entrance road leads to a thicket of trees that surrounds two buildings. One is a barn which is used as a storage facility. The other, a two-storey wooden frame structure complete with white picket fence, is the clubhouse. The buildings and use of the land are rented by the Rebels M.C. from a farmer who works the nearby fields. The Rebels in a way had combined the "best" of both worlds. On a summer's night they could wander amongst the trees, gather wood, get several open fires blazing, stare at the stars with their ladies, swap biker tales of glory and "assorted bullshit," drink cool ones, smoke rolled ones, look at the distant city lights and say, "Fuck em! Who needs em!" Yet they were still only a fifteen-minute drive from central Edmonton and all its amenities.

From the branch of a tree a few feet from the clubhouse hangs the mangled remains of a Japanese bike . . . ode to a Honda. A sign beside the clubhouse doorway reads, "Enter At Own Risk." Inside, some members and the occasional old lady would be playing pool. The Rebels have a pay-as-you-play pool table (deposit a quarter and the balls dropped from an interior pocket), along with pool cues, ball racks, and scoreboard, that they had "collected" from various bars. The winners would take on new challengers while the losers went back to "serious drinking." General Electric was there doing its job in the form of two fridges: a beer fridge; and a wine, hard liquor, and mix fridge. All alcoholic beverages were sold at slightly higher than retail cost, with the profits going to the club account. What the club may have lost in maintaining a minimum retail markup, they more than compensated for in terms of high volume sales. Beer sold for 50¢ a bottle. Liquor, usually whiskey, and mix, sold for 50¢ a shot. An old ticket stub box - probably "donated" by a local theater - was where members paid their monies, on an honour system. The wine, which sold for $3.50 a half gallon, was a loganberry and blueberry combination. Although it was a far cry from a number one, dry Red Bordeaux, one man's Beaujolais is another man's Applejack or Red Devil. Nonetheless, cheap wine has a capacity to cause nasty hangovers due to its heavy sugar content. As a result of having "twisted a few people in," the wine gained the nickname of "Tangled Spokes."

Beside one of the fridges was a stove which was used for everything from the cooking of meals to the smoking of hashish. In order to smoke the hashish, Danny took an empty whiskey bottle from the "room of empties" and smashed it against the base of the stove. A striker, whose duties included clubhouse maintenance, was then asked why there was broken glass lying all about and it was promptly cleaned up. The top shaft piece of the whiskey bottle was used as a funnel to draw up smoke from the hashish which was heated between two hot knives on the stove. Music was provided by a classic old Wurlitzer juke box, with extra speakers mounted outside the house for outdoor gatherings and parties. The power source for the appliances, interior and exterior lighting, and sound system, was supplied by a portable gasoline-run generator. The Rebels had procured an old 1920's wooden telephone booth in which they kept the club phone.

Upstairs, the Rebels had three bedrooms. These rooms could be rented for ten dollars a month for living quarters or one dollar a night if a member was entertaining a guest: "Those rooms upstairs are for fucking, crashing, resting, and getting sick" (Indian, Rebels M.C.). Extramarital relations are joked about by most members and openly encouraged by others. While browsing through a Rebel club photo album one evening, the researcher glanced up and noticed that a member had left a trophy on the ceiling to mark his ventures during a party held the previous Saturday: a pair of pink panties and bra had been nailed to one of the rafters. The clubhouse is an enclave where members enact the outlaw freedom ethic to their satisfaction. Visiting old ladies are aware of this ethic and one of its tenets, male dominance, and they conduct themselves accordingly.

The clubhouse is furbished with many trappings and trophies that symbolize outlaw culture in general and the Rebels M.C., in particular. On one wall hung the Rebels M.C. flag: a white cracked skull against a black and red background. Nearby was a Confederate (rebel) flag, and a Canadian flag, upside down. A highway sign which was a souvenir read: "Stony Plain Indian Reserve." Along the walls were photographs of members and their bikes. Beneath the photographs were trophies that various members had won by entering their "choppers" in custom motorcycle shows. In a bookcase adjacent to a sofa were photograph albums with pictures of members, motorcycles, past runs, newspaper clippings of club "events," and cards from patch holders of other clubs.

Evidence of the strong territorial policy that is maintained by the Rebels M.C. covers two walls of the clubhouse. Draped upside down along the length of the walls are the colours - all that remains - of the following clubs: Shadows M.C.; Highway Knights Car Club; Satans Soul M.C.; Jokers M.C.; Loners M.C.; Renegades M.C.; Devils Own M.C.;

Fearless Albinos M.C.; Sundance M.C.; Skull Riders M.C.; and Highway Kings M.C. This trophy-like display of colours is a fairly common practice among outlaw clubs that manage to survive and establish themselves in what is often a hostile environment. For example, the Bounty Hunters of Victoria had Axis M.C. colours on their clubhouse wall, while the Satan's Choice M.C. of Toronto had colours that they had taken from the Vagabonds M.C. and the Para Dice Riders M.C. The Satan's Choice M.C. also had badges, jackets, etc., that they had seized from the Ontario Provincial Police (O.P.P.) and other law enforcement agencies. The Rebels have an R.C.M.P. plaque hanging from one of their walls.

For Jim, the clubhouse location enables him to engage in a personal hobby: gardening. Jim was brought up on a farm in White Rock and plans eventually to settle on a farm in northern Alberta: "The city is no place to raise kids (Jim is married with two children). The pace is too rushed. On a farm you're busy but you manage to get things done" (Jim, Rebels M.C.). Jim rents a large old house in the city and keeps a chicken coop in the backyard:

> Not so much for eggs as for eating young fryers. I needed some sort of coop anyways; my little girl and boy have two pet ducks. I like large dogs, but they always get stolen in the city - like my prize labrador. I'll eventually settle down to mixed farming (Ibid.).

Jim started his mini-farm alongside the clubhouse barn:

> I asked the farmer if I could use some of his land to start a garden. He said yeah and he gave me a patch. So I burned off the thistles and weeds and rototilled it, and planted some cabbages, carrots, potatoes, onions, and peas. I go out to the clubhouse twice a week to weed it. There sure are a lot of weeds! (Ibid.).

This author failed to grasp the full significance of Jim's comments about the "weeds" - nor could I appreciate Jim's preoccupation with weeding his garden - until one day, when two visiting members of the Kings

Plate 8. Terrible Tom, Rebels Motorcycle Club.

Plate 9. Visions of old ladies outside Rebels Motorcycle Club clubhouse.

COLOURED PICTURE

Crew M.C. came around the barn munching some carrots and one said: "Man, I've never seen 'weed' grow that high before!" Jim thoroughly weeded his garden just before the annual Labour Day run to Coronation and brought several Glad garbage bags of the stuff along; needless to say, a good time was had by all.

On an institutional level, the clubhouse serves as the locus of formal club functions such as weekly meetings, and social activities such as club parties. The maintenance of a clubhouse is one indicator of how "solid" a club is. A clubhouse demands commitment in terms of finance, time, and physical protection on the part of a cohesive and stabilized group of members. It was considered very "righteous" when a new chapter of the Spokesmen M.C. (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan), was able to establish a clubhouse within two years' time. On an interpersonal level the clubhouse provides a fixed location where members can gather for purely social reasons or draw upon the resources of their brothers in satisfying personal needs. Thus the clubhouse invests the group's social network with a physical permanency in addition to establishing a continual operational core of interacting members. "With the clubhouse I've always got a place to go and people to be with" (Voodoo, Rebels M.C.). On an individual level the clubhouse provides an institutional setting and supporting social milieu where members can enact those personal visions they have of themselves as bikers. On an inter-group level the clubhouse serves three major functions. First, within the realm of the outlaw club subculture the clubhouse provides a symbolic territorial claim and a warning to other would-be clubs that would infringe on that territory. Second, it is a place of refuge and hospitality to touring bikers and visiting clubs. Lastly, in terms of the host society, the clubhouse constitutes a declaration of independence where rigid social borders are maintained and subcultural norms predominate. To the extent that the element of isolation is maintained, the above clubhouse-oriented activities intensify intragroup solidarity and serve to further define the points of tangency between the club and host society; both of these processes in turn achieve subcultural differentiation.

Chapter 12

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY: THE FINANCING OF SUBCULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

Conditions of Individual and Club Needs

Outlaw motorcycle clubs, like all societies, require some form of socio-economic organization in order to replenish group resources. How elaborate and extensive the economic system is will vary from club to club in terms of securing the basic survival needs of the club, and satisfying the more ancillary requirements of its members. Continuity and stability for the Rebels Motorcycle Club is dependent upon ensuring a steady cash flow in order to meet certain fundamental expenditures that are characteristic of outlaw motorcycle clubs: (1) the rental or purchase of a clubhouse; (2) the financing of club activities; (3) the purchase and maintenance of club equipment, such as the club van/car, portable power generators, and short wave radio set; (4) acquiring basic motorcycle repair equipment, such as a wheel-balancer, lathe, and tools; (5) securing armaments and munitions for the clubhouse, such as Remington shotguns and shells; (6) the provision of bail money and contacts with qualified lawyers for club members. Expenditures that are of a more secondary nature include: (a) the furbishing of the clubhouse with items such as a pool table, stove, juke box and records, a sound system for outdoor partying, a movie camera along with screen and projector for recording summer club events and passing by winter evenings, a beer fridge . . . the Rebels had two, beds for members and overnight guests;

(b) the purchase of club paraphenalia, such as club colours (back patches), club cards, tee-shirts, year-of-membership badges, and identity stickers for members' motorcycles.

The provision of bond money and members' access to competent lawyers is of particular importance to an outlaw motorcycle club's survival. Financial competence, understandings, and working arrangements in these areas enables the club to prevent members from being unnecessarily incarcerated. These members would otherwise be bereft of monetary and legal support. Some clubs circumvent the necessity of having large sums of money available in the club treasury for bond money by employing a bail bondsman. A bondsman will provide the necessary bail money and charge a certain percentage (generally ten percent) for his fee. Thus if a member's bail was set at three thousand dollars, the club would provide the bail bondsman with three hundred dollars and furnish security for the remaining three thousand dollars. Furthermore, the police are more reasonable in their surveillance procedures if a club gainfully employs a sound legal defence and does not hesitate to bring charges of police harassment to bear. Being "solid" in these two respects is of vital importance to a club's survival and is also a major reason why new, unestablished clubs disintegrate once the legal authorities begin to apply pressure.

The availability of interest-free personal loans enables certain members to exercise the "work-the-winter, ride-the-summer" ethic. If unexpected expenses arise such as major motorcycle repairs, or if a supporting old lady suddenly decides a change in lifestyle is in order, an individual can draw upon the club for a loan. Alternatively, the club member can manage to cope with many of these unforeseen expenses by resorting directly to the brotherhood. For example, with twenty-four members there is always a surplus of various motorcycle parts to be had, and a member with no place to stay can always work out some sort of arrangement with a brother whether it be the renting of a suite in a member's house, such as Onion with Indian, or temporarily bunking in a member's garage, such as Yesnoski with Larry.

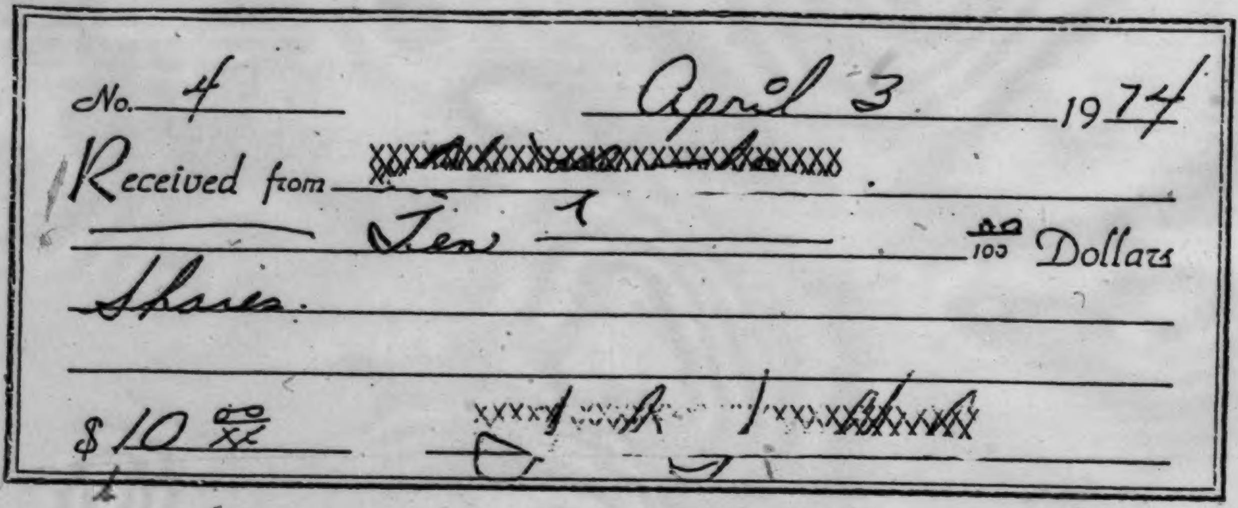
Resources, Productive Strategies, and Spheres of Exchange

The income necessary to replenish the coffers of the Rebels M.C. treasury is derived from four major sources: (1) membership dues; (2) the sale of various commodities to members; (3) the brokerage of club shares; and (4) the sponsorship of "boogies" or dances.

Membership dues are sixty dollars per annum, and are payable on a semi-annual basis (Rebels M.C. Constitution 1976). In order to reinforce financial stability and minimize the administrative duties of the treasurer, members are encouraged to pay their dues in total at the first meeting of the year, in January: "(There is) no heavy pressure or anything like that. I just tell them that I'll break their leg if they make me mess up my tidy little (accounting) sheets!" (Blues, Treasurer, Rebels M.C.). This inaugural meeting also includes the election of a new executive board and club officers, and concludes with a wild party - a rite of intensification that ushers in a new year of "biking, boozing, and brotherhood."

The sale of commodities to members encompasses a wide assortment of goods and services that are dispensed on a regular basis. Alcoholic beverages consisting mainly of beer and wine are sold year round in the clubhouse and also on runs. Within the clubhouse, money is collected for use of the pool table (25¢ per game) and from the renting of spare rooms to members on both a regular and emergency basis. Motorcycle parts, accessories, and lubricants are purchased in bulk from wholesale outlets, and sold at both a saving to members and a profit to the club.

The brokerage of club shares takes the form of marketing ten dollars capital debentures to members on which they earn interest (Figure 4).



No. 4 April 3 1974

Received from [redacted]

Ten $\frac{00}{100}$ Dollars

Shares.

$ 10 $\frac{00}{xx}$ [redacted]

Figure 4. Receipt issued for sale of club shares (Rebels Motorcycle Club).

Technically, the sale of debentures in this manner constitutes a contravention of The Province of Alberta Companies Act:

> 6. (1) No society (unless registered under The Companies Act) shall have a capital divided into shares or declare any dividend or distribute its property among its members during the existence of the society (The Societies Act, R.S.A., 1970 c.347, s.6).

However, needless to say, the Rebels M.C. is not listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange.

The sponsorship of "boogies" (dances) is the one instance where the club consistently goes beyond the boundaries of its membership in order to accumulate capital. A boogie in this context refers to a commercial dance open to a select public, for example, the Harleyween Ball, which is held every October 31st. For its patrons a boogie includes live entertainment in the form of a rock band, e.g., Martha Strange, and the sale of alcoholic beverages (bottled beer and wine). However, for the majority of outsiders, the boogie affords an opportunity to dance, mingle, or otherwise interact with members of the Rebels M.C. in a biker setting. A public boogie is held outside Rebel territory in a rented community hall such as the Orange Hall which is owned and operated by the International Order of Foresters. Organizational aspects of the boogie such as the contract for the band, renting the hall, and getting the liquor permit, are handled by an entertainment committee composed of five volunteer members. Tickets are produced by the committee (Figure 5) and sold by members to outsiders, both bikers and, at the discretion of the member, non-bikers alike.

R M C BOOGIE

featuring - MARTHA STRANGE -

Saturday, March 1, 1975 - 8:00 p.m.

ORANGE HALL, 111 Ave. & 95 St.

058

$7.00 Couple

Figure 5. Sample of ticket produced by Rebels M.C. entertainment committee when organizing a "boogie."

In accordance with Alberta Liquor Control Board (A.L.C.B.) regulations each member is allowed to sell only four (couple) tickets; otherwise the boogie would be classified as a commercial as opposed to a social event. The Rebels M.C. would then have to purchase a cabaret licence in addition to the minimal ($2.00) liquor permit. For the Rebels M.C. the boogie is unquestionably a commercial event. However, insofar as it is highly unlikely that representatives of the A.L.C.B. would be making an appearance, the Rebels tend to "lose count" of how many tickets - although all are numbered and signed - that they sell. An additional A.L.C.B. stipulation is that tickets cannot be sold at the door. The Rebels interpreted this regulation as meaning that tickets had to be sold across the street from the door.

Historically, the Rebels M.C. holds two such boogies a year, the dates of which roughly coincide with the beginning (April 1st) and end (October 31st) of the riding season. Outsiders who attend Rebel boogies are generally individuals who see members on a regular basis in the club bar or in motorcycle shops, but who otherwise would not be able to "interact" with them. The sole reason that club borders are allowed to be crossed in this liminal fashion is to replenish club coffers:

> Strictly money, that's the one and only purpose . . . strictly to have money coming into the club, but not out of my pocket or any of the other members' pockets, out of other peoples'. We have to exercise a lot of tolerance because a lot of straight dudes come out with some really funny questions and, you know, a lot of things that aren't their business . . . . Members just do their own thing and ignore the crowd, and that seems to get the crowd warmed up. We get to feeling pretty good, although everybody has their job; everybody is a bouncer. Last time we just had one minor incident. Some dude got drunk and said something stupid to Dump (member of the Warlords M.C.) when they were in the can. Dump picked him up and threw him onto the sink. It broke and we had to repair all the plumbing. But usually we drink and have a good time putting down brews and dancing and they have a good time; and there just seems to be no hassles (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Boogies have the immediate advantage of producing club revenue without drawing upon the finances of its members. However, social interaction with citizens on public premises carries some automatic disadvantages:

members have to restrain their own behaviour in order to be able to control any potential misunderstandings that may arise with members of the public; and, furthermore, these "public profile" situations inevitably draw the attention of the local police.

> Biker's Weapons Seized by Police
>
> City police seized M-1 rifles and knives from out-of-town biker gangs bound for a Rebels' sponsored party Saturday.
>
> Eight people were charged with offences ranging from possession of an offensive weapon to traffic violations . . . and one was charged with possession of a restricted drug (*Edmonton Journal*, September 22, 1980, A3).

It is difficult to imagine any outlaw biker function wherein the police could not observe one or two minor misdemeanours, or not be able to cite several traffic or vehicle violations. For many members the carrying of "prohibited weapons" such as knives or chains is a taken for granted aspect of the dress code of their lifestyle; and the presence of "offensive weapons" such as high powered rifles is not all that uncommon. Yet while the presence of weapons is commonplace, their use is strictly controlled by club rules and any nondiscriminant use is highly unlikely. As a testimony to the effectiveness of this self-control Rebel boogies have been free of any major incidents of violence:

> Though the street outside the hall was lined with one hundred bikes, police said the bikers attending the six-hour party caused no trouble.
>
> 'I've seen wedding receptions that were noisier than that,' said one neighbour, who said it wasn't the first time the bikers had rented the hall (St. Edmund's Hall) for a party (*Loc. cit.*).

However, a high degree of visibility on public premises, in combination with citizen interaction, demands selective perception and policing on the part of those who are ultimately responsible for maintaining the peace: "'When you get that kind of people involved, you have the potential for a violent situation,' Constable Bruce McMorrin said Sunday. 'That's why we made the checks ahead of time.'" (Edmonton Journal, September 22, 1980, A3). As is the case with other club events, the annoyance of police supervision along with the necessity for uncharacteristic restraint and tedious control can be eliminated by following a policy of physical isolation. In 1978 the Rebels M.C. enacted such a policy and held a mid-summer's boogie on the Canada Day (July 1st) long weekend. The site was a ranch north of Edmonton towards the town of Gibbons, i.e., the location was both (a) private property, and (b) beyond the jurisdiction of the Edmonton City Police, and by virtue of its isolation, not of concern to the local contingent of the R.C.M.P.

In addition to the host Rebels M.C. and friends of the club, other participants included the Kings Crew M.C. and Lucifers Union M.C. who rode up from Calgary, along with members of a club from Manitoba that were touring through Edmonton at the time. Numerous other tickets were sold to non-club affiliated individuals including members of the biker subculture, the loose community of individuals that frequented the club bar on a regular basis, and a wide assortment of outsiders. Normally rigid subcultural boundaries became particularly amorphous to single females who were sold tickets regardless of their social distance from the outlaw community. The boogie began on Friday afternoon and continued to Sunday evening with from three hundred to four hundred people attending the first forty-four hour long party.

While the obvious purpose of Rebel money-making schemes is the procurement of club revenue, a latent function emerges as a result of the fact that these enterprises afford members an opportunity to participate in a communal economic strategy. These group endeavours play no small role in further differentiating interpersonal "brotherhood" essence of club life from the impersonal capitalistic system of the larger society that surrounds them. Rebel partisanship becomes particularly evident in the course of operationalizing a boogie. A boogie involves members making personal contributions related to their individual skills or areas of expertise; it requires cooperative action among all members; all aspects of contribution and cooperation are closely tied to the club's general system of social relationships; and, finally, nearly all the skills of production can be found within the club itself. For example, one problem that faced the Rebels entertainment committee regarding the July 1st weekend boogie was obtaining live rock entertainment. It seemed that local musicians were somewhat less than enthusiastic about the prospect of submitting themselves to the potentialities of a two-day biker bash. However, Armand who was the social convenor at the time had a contact in the "buy and sell" trade who happened to be the bass guitarist in a band called Lover. The lead singer of the band, Walter, operated Foundation Management, a booking agency for rock bands. After a number of informal interactions with the Rebels in the club bar, Walter felt reasonably confident about convincing members of his own band plus three additional groups to play at the boogie - the musicians were guaranteed their personal safety, the safety of their instruments, and future booking considerations. Walter informed the Rebels that the bands would need a stage as the festival was being held on open rangeland. Voodoo, a veteran truck driver of fifteen years, got hold of two flatbed trailers, and with a truly professional demonstration of driving skill, he parked one flatbed and backed in the other alongside leaving only a three-inch gap between the two vehicles. The musicians made it known that they would be unable to perform in the rain. In response, Gerry who was a housing construction foreman, supervised the construction of an elaborate canopy to cover the flatbed stage. Danny, who was an electrician by trade, transported the portable generators from the clubhouse and set up the electrical connections necessary to provide power for the bands' equipment and the floodlights. Dale was able to obtain weiners at a significant discount in price from a meat packing plant for whom he was employed as a butcher. Ken and Steve donated the facilities and tools of Brothers' Custom Cycle, Whimpy the mechanic supplied expertise, Jim furnished a paint job from his autobody shop, and other members contributed labour and spare parts, all towards the construction of a customized panhead to be raffled off at the boogie. The president took on the responsibility of renting the land, while the entertainment committee undertook the production and distribution of tickets, and the purchase and transportation of foodstuffs and alcoholic beverages. Members' ladies were in charge of the preparation and vending of the various edibles, such as hot dogs, corn, watermelon, etc. Crash and Raunch who have rural backgrounds and know how to handle animals, teamed up with Caveman to form a search and abduct mission and returned with a pig that was later roasted. A number of the members replaced the posts and restrung the barbed wire that was part of the fencing damaged during the course of the party. Finally, the strikers were assigned the task of collecting and disposing of all and any refuse that was part of the aftermath.

The boogie was both a financial and entertainment success. The sale of the motorcycle raffle tickets ($20.00 each), admission tickets ($3.50 each), and money from the vending of foodstuffs and alcoholic beverages resulted in the Rebels realizing a profit of approximately

$5,000. The party itself was kept going on a twenty-four hour a day basis. The isolated setting allowed the Rebels and their guests to engage in a number of pleasant diversions, ranging from eating, drinking, dancing, and making love in the wild woods, to motorcycle races and a topless contest. The topless contest was an innovation of Walter, the lead guitarist of the rock group Lover, and who acted as a master of ceremonies for the whole affair. Six of the more endowed ladies were brought up on the stage and were persuaded to remove their tops. There was no problem in getting one member from each of the four clubs present to volunteer to act as a judge. They surveyed the young ladies and then asked, "Well, what are the rules?" Walter replied, "Taste and touch!"

> This was no problem for those guys. And the girls didn't seem to mind either. I saw nipples redden and harden as some guys nibbled away. This went on for about half an hour as they went from girl to girl. I kept up a running commentary, punning right through: 'This is a titillating experience!' It was nice and spontaneous, and a lot of fun. 'Obviously he's keeping abreast of things!' (Walter K., lead guitarist of rock group Lover).

A complication arose in that two of the judges voted for one girl, while the other two judges were equally adamant about another candidate. It became obvious that in order to establish a winner it would be necessary to extend the competition. The two finalists were persuaded to disrobe completely. The judges again asked what the rules were to be.

> I said, 'The same rules apply, taste and touch!' So they took turns going from girl to girl and this went on for about fifteen minutes. They were engaging in oral sex right there on the stage. Communal cunnilingus! I was saying things like: 'Well, he's going at it lickity split!' 'Number two looks like she's coming . . . on strong.' 'The audience is obviously eating this all up!' It was fun for me, the bikers, and everybody else that was there . . . . There was a lot of straight old sex happening. Not blatantly out in the open, but in the pertpheral . . . in the barn . . . under the flatbed stage . . . . My drummer was playing with his head turned half the night because of the antics going on back there . . . . We took about eight girls home on the equipment bus, and they felt that they had had a great time. It sounded like they had made it with six or seven bikers. The girls that were there were definitely not your virgin types (Walter K., lead guitarist of rock group Lover).

Despite the large number of people in attendance and the vast quantities of liquor that were consumed, the weekend activities were marred by only one minor disturbance. The incident involved a lone biker who "insulted" Armand of the Rebels M.C. who was on crutches at the time. Armand let his crutches drop and laced his adversary who sagged at the knees and then fell motionless to the ground. Armand then called for a striker to come and pick up his crutches: "Give a cripple a helping hand, eh!" The notable lack of interpersonal conflict or agitation can be attributed to the amiable atmosphere produced by the uninhibited free-floating nature of the activities . . . members obviously had other pleasantries to occupy themselves with.

In conclusion, the socio-economic organization of the Rebels M.C. serves to maintain, express, and reinforce subcultural differentiation. The Rebels' economic system incorporates aspects of all three major modes of exchange: reciprocity; redistribution; and market exchange. Both generalized and balanced reciprocity operate within the framework of the club's social network serving to simultaneously cement interpersonal ties of friendship - "the brotherhood" - and create mutual social obligations. Redistribution occurs with members being required to pay annual dues to the club, which in turn provides benefits for the membership as a whole. Elements of market exchange are present in the form of the brokerage of club shares, and the production and commercial sale of entertainment, i.e., "boogies." The Rebels M.C.'s economic structure as a whole functions to provide goods and services to the members, and a continual cash flow to the club itself necessary to meet basic operational costs, expenses related to ensuring the protection of club members, and more ancillary entertainment-oriented expenditures. However, even cash flow productive ventures are closely linked to non-economic factors both in terms of the decision-making that underlies those activities, and their broader sociocultural consequences. Economic decisions are in fact jointly influenced by political considerations, such as the prevailing degree of police surveillance, and aspects of personal or group taste, such as the opportunity to engage in subculturally valued activities. Furthermore, the participation of members in collective enterprises based on primary group involvement - in the midst of a highly impersonal capitalistic system - serves to enhance internal solidarity and emphasize feelings of ethnocentrism.

Chapter 13

TERRITORIALITY: THE POLITICS OF ALLIANCE, INVASION, AND WARFARE

> Aggressive behaviour . . . tends to disperse groups over the available habitat. Such dispersion is a prime function of territorialism, the ecological value being that it prevents excessive concentration of individuals or groups in one place. Thus the numbers of individuals and groups are regulated more closely to the carrying capacity of the environment (Southwick, 1972:16-17).

The minimal behavioural definition of territoriality is defence of a particular area; the minimal geographical implication is the regulation of the distribution of a particular species. While the popular conception of aggression is that which is associated with conflict between different species, territoriality employs aggression to increase the minimal distance between members of the same species. It is not surprising, then, that in the world of outlaw motorcycle clubs, the intraspecific aspect of territoriality manifests itself as an oddity, especially when that species as a whole is attempting to survive in a hostile environment:

> One of the many unfathomable characteristics of the outlaw is his inability to live with his own kind. Outlaw clubs are constantly warring with each other although he has everything in common with his fellow clubber. Inter-club hassles are started over invasion of territory, mama stealing, and bike ripoffs plus many other outsiders never learn (Inky, 1972:82).

Maintaining constancy in the number of outlaw motorcycle clubs in a city is the critical factor with respect to the functional effectiveness of territoriality on two levels of consideration: i) the psychological element of identification, and ii) the ecological principle of optimum numbers or not exceeding the carrying capacity of a local area.

Psychology of Identification

Attending to the first element of psychological identification, all animals including man surround themselves with a "social force field" (McBride, 1964:82). An intrusion of this personal space can produce a variety of negative reactions. The definition (distance) of this space and the reaction to an incursion depends on the interaction of two classes of variables: (1) universal/internal, such as man's inherent potential for aggression; and (2) situational, such as relative social status, degree of intimacy, etc. The members of an outlaw motorcycle club relate ideologically with their group (club) that is itself associated with a particular area (city or region). This process of ideological identification is symbolized in the club colours:

REBELS	SPOKESMEN	BOUNTY HUNTERS
(Emblem)	(Emblem)	(Emblem/M.C.)
M.C. EDM	SOUTH SASK. M.C.	VICTORIA

The colours signify the club and designate their territorial claim. Colours generally consist of three sections. The top "rocker" carries the name of the club; the club emblem constitutes the "centre patch"; the "bottom rocker" carries the territorial location and the M.C. denotation if not placed in the centre patch. "The purpose of colours is to let people know who you are. To let people know that you're proud of your club" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.) Colours not only symbolize personal identity, they locate that identity outside the host society; they act as a subcultural border marker. ". . . because we value our colours so highly, its like putting a chip on your shoulder . . . you know, knock it off if you dare. It identifies; it identifies the goof from the biker" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.). The cracked skull of the Rebels' colours is a symbol of death and horror. Members use this symbolism to their advantage, both as a border marker and a declaration to themselves: once you fly the colours of death you are free of the fear of death. This concept does not constitute a collective death wish on the ~~part~~ of members, rather it is a declaration of meeting the face of death with no compromise. It is a fine line between the taste of death and the ecstasy of adventure; members seek the freedom of adventure through the M.C. of their colours, the vehicle that continuously brings its operator closest to death.

For older more experienced members the colours and the denim/leather cut off jacket on which they are mounted, along with numerous pins, badges, insignia, etc., become documentaries of their personal experiences with the club.

> To myself, personally, my colours and all the things that are on them they mean different and individual things I've done with my brothers . . . my colours are a documentary of my life. Even the vibes coming off them that I feel, they tell a story to myself every time I look at them (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

The union between individual and group is charged with emotion and merged in the process of symbolic identification:

> Well, they're an embodiment of my feelings for the club, all my love for the club. That patch on my back means that I'm a Rebel. I love the club and the patch is the symbol of the club (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

The multi-dimensional meaning of club colours manifests itself in the tenacity with which members will defend them in counter-opposition to outside forces: ". . . Let someone try and take them and I'll show you what they mean to me" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

Author: How far does the club expect a member to go as far as defending his colours go?

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): . . . a member will literally die for his colours. He's gotta be unconscious before you take them off his back.

Author: Has the Rebels ever lost a set of colours?

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): No!

Under these circumstances personal and club identities become merged in the context of their associated area. The propensity for the defence of this territory ultimately stems from the fact such guardianship amounts to ". . . a case of spatial defence not easily separable from the maintenance of personal space" (Peterson, 1975:55).

In the winter of 1970 members of the Fearless Albinos M.C. moved from Montreal to Edmonton. According to club president Mick Grimaldie the move was an economic one based on the availability of jobs in the Edmonton area . . . Alberta has the lowest provincial unemployment rate in Canada. There was a somewhat unique dimension to the Fearless Albinos M.C.: attack dogs. To help protect Albino person and property, each club member trained his own guard dog. The dogs travelled with the members on their motorcycles; the dogs were transported in specially built trailer boxes. The club announced its arrival in the Alberta city by profiling in the Edmonton Journal a picture taken in the Fearless Albino clubhouse which featured the six ecutive members and three Doberman Pinschers and three German Shepards. The club emblem - a large outline of a Pinscher head - hung in the background, flanked on either side by automatic weapons and rifles with fixed bayonets. The newspaper caption read: "Here's One Motorcycle Club That Fights Shy of Violence." "We are not chicken to anybody but we go out of our way to avoid trouble of any kind . . . . But if there is trouble we protect ourselves" (Mick Grimaldi, president, Fearless Albinos M.C. quoted in Edmonton Journal, March, 1970). The Fearless Albinos, however, had made a serious tactical error in publicizing their intrusion before being fully able to defend it. That is, while the Albinos claimed a total membership of one hundred members, "most of the members are still back there (in Montreal)." For the young Rebels M.C. - formed in April, 1969 - this was their first territorial test.

In the world of outlaw motorcycle clubs, the termination of one club by another is accomplished by the highly symbolic gesture of capturing their colours. An unwritten law stipulates that a motorcycle club which is unable to defend its colours will not fly those colours. The efficaciousness of the law depends on the not-so-symbolic strength and resources of the club enforcing it. Not only would the purchase of new replacement colours indicate a complete "lack of class" but it would also increase the tenacity of the inevitable followup attack by the dominant club. The actual tactics employed in "taking a club off the road" will range from intimidation to death depending on how much counter-resistance is displayed. The Rebels began their territorial defence by isolating members of the Fearless Albinos in physical encounters and forcibly confiscating the cut-off denim jackets on which the Albino colours were mounted. By the end of that summer the Fearless Albinos M.C. was no more in Edmonton.

The essence of a symbol is that it is one step removed from the reality which it represents. However, some symbols embody the object, concept, or activity they supposedly symbolize to the extent that they achieve a reality of their own. This is the case with the subjugation and elimination of outlaw clubs. The symbolic commitment to colours is

Plate 10. Executive members of Fearless Albinos Motorcycle Club.

Plate 11. Captured colours hang from the walls of the Rebels M.C. clubhouse: all that remains of the Fearless Albinos M.C.

so great that the seizure of colours when "taking a club off the road" is felt to be both *necessary* and *sufficient*.

Author: When shutting down another club, why are colours taken?

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): Because *a biker values his colours more than anything else* . . . . His colours represent his club . . . if you can take his colours away from him, that's defeat . . . . If you've taken their colours you've beaten them to the point of insulting them.

Discussions with members indicated that colours acted as the club's most pervasive and omnipotent symbol of togetherness. In the world of outlaw bikers, a club's existence began with its members wearing, and terminated with the loss, of colours. While they served no pragmatic purpose and could be replaced with twenty dollars and a trip to a local felt goods store, they weren't. A member who lost his colours lost his membership and had no recourse but to go through a probationary period; a ~~club~~ that loses its colours forfeits its right to exist as a club. The *reality of the colours symbol* can best be conveyed by briefly commenting on its significance in three separate sets of circumstances involving three different clubs.

The first incident involves the Highway Kings M.C. attempting to carve a niche for themselves in the Edmonton area.

Author: The one thing that I don't understand is that Highway Kings have been wearing their colours underneath their leathers in the Executive (bar) and you've let them go.

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Not from underneath their jackets. They can sew their colours on their fucking shorts and I wouldn't give a shit. I'm not going to go around pulling their shorts down to see if they're wearing colours. If they wear them under their jackets, they can wear them under their jackets . . . I don't care. But if they go around and, as soon as they uncover and fly those colours, then I'll take them any way I have to.

Author:	Yeah, but they put their colours on just as soon as they're outside the city limits. Is it a matter of catching them with their colours on outside the city?
Steve (Rebels M.C.):	No. If I see them outside the city with their colours on I couldn't care less. But not in this town!
Author:	I guess you realize that what they're doing is laying low till they have enough strength (numbers) to establish themselves openly. In the meantime, shit is going to come down like that cop pulling us over and telling us some asshole from the Highway Knights is out gunning with a shotgun.
Steve (Rebels M.C.):	Sure, I hope that they make a (public colours) move. I just hope they try something. If forty-five members of the (Canadian) Airborne (one commando) couldn't whip us, I'm sure that those cocksuckers aren't.

Thus, despite the fact that the Highway Kings had the structure, organization, and indeed functioned as a club, and although the Rebels M.C. were fully aware of this and recognized the growing and imminent threat to their individual and collective existence, the Rebels would not descend upon the Highway Kings until that insurgent group (i) publicly displayed their colours, and (ii) that display took place within the city of Edmonton. Without this ritualistic display of a club emblem, the Highway Kings M.C. in effect did not exist.

The secondary commentary comes from the city of Calgary. Due to the great number of motorcycle clubs in that city, outlaw patch holders are very conscious of anything that even remotely resembles colours. Thus, an individual who has no club affiliation and represents no territorial threat to any of the established clubs, and who in fact is not even flying colours but merely wearing a cut-off denim jacket over his leathers, risks the chance of being accosted by members of the Kings Crew M.C. or Grim Reapers M.C. and losing his denim jacket.

The final commentary on the pervasive importance of colours emanates from Memphis, Tennessee. A group of Hells Angels arrived in that city with the intention of establishing a local Angels chapter. The group was subsequently raided by a billy-club wielding task force made up of Memphis policemen. During the course of the raid the Hells Angels had many of their civil rights violated. The Hells Angels M.C. is a national organization with tremendous financial and legal resources at their disposal. They threatened and subsequently proceeded to press charges in a civil suit against the City of Memphis and its police force. However, the police held a trump card - they had confiscated the club's colours. Without their colours the Angels could not return to their home base in Cleveland, Ohio. An out-of-court settlement between the two parties was arranged whereby the Hells Angels M.C. would drop the civil suit and agree never to return to Memphis, in exchange for the coveted colours.

Since their foundation in 1969 the Rebels M.C. has prevented the formation and eliminated all other outlaw clubs from the city of Edmonton with the notable exception of the Warlords M.C. The Warlords M.C. and the Rebels M.C. arose from the political vacuum that was created when police "surveillance" led to the demise of the then Coffin Cheaters M.C. and the Sinners M.C. The Warlords M.C. - founded by a few surviving members of the Sinners M.C. - formed prior to the Rebels M.C. The Warlords M.C., in effect, granted the Rebels M.C. permission to start up. The reasoning behind this move was the fact that a club attempting to carve a niche for itself will often do so by eliminating the weakest club already located in that area. Thus, by allowing the Rebels M.C. to establish itself, the Warlords effectively created a buffer zone between themselves and any harmful effects resulting from the invasion or emergence of new clubs.

The soundness and foresight of the Warlords M.C. decision of informal alliance with the Rebels M.C. became evident three years later with the emergence of the Skull Riders M.C. The Skull Riders were no fools; they had maintained a very low profile in their formative period - riding with their colours beneath their leathers - while they steadfastly grew in strength of numbers and daring. Finally, the Skull Riders M.C. announced their presence by trapping and severely beating two members of the Warlords M.C. in the Klondiker bar. The Skull Riders M.C. was by that time too large a club - more than twenty-five members - to handle on a random basis. In an emergency meeting between the executive of the Warlords M.C. and Rebels M.C., it was decided that it was necessary that the Skull Riders be shut down collectively and immediately. To carry out their plan it was necessary to infiltrate the Skull Riders organization. The Warlords and Rebels had no idea as to how closely they themselves had been scrutinized, consequently a regular member would be running too high a risk of recognition. The unenviable task fell to a relatively new Rebel striker. The Rebel striker approached a group of Skull Riders who were riding the streets and stated a desire to strike for them. In their haste to augment their numbers in anticipation of the hostilities they knew were to follow, the Skull Riders invited the "prospect" to come to the clubhouse and be introduced to the club. The Rebel striker phoned in the address, date, and time of the next Skull Riders M.C. general meeting.

The Skull Riders' secretary was reading the minutes of the last meeting when the garage door splintered then crashed open from the force of the monkey wrench. The Rebels and Warlords stormed in. The Skull Riders were lined up and told that if they could run a gauntlet of Rebels on one side and Warlords on the other, they could keep their colours. Any Skull Rider who even came remotely close to making it through was held up and passed along to the end of the line where ex 'golden gloves' Terrible Tom expertly finished the job.

The overwhelmed Skull Riders stood by and watched as their colours were seized and destroyed (burned), with one exception. The final set of Skull Riders M.C. colours was taken to the Rebels' clubhouse, where it was mounted upside down on a wall alongside colours from the Fearless Albinos M.C., Satans Soul M.C., Jokers M.C., and seven other motorcycle clubs that had been "taken off the road" by the Rebels. This somewhat macabre "graveyard of colours" has a function beyond that of a trophy display. Captured colours act as a highly visible warning to non-affiliated bikers who visit the clubhouse and who might otherwise be so inclined or inspired to initiate their own club, that the Rebels M.C. will not tolerate any territorial incursions. Thus, the Rebels utilize a form of ritualized aggression - threat display - which conserves group resources, reduces the possibility of injury and death, yet still achieves the adaptive value of territoriality.

The intraspecific aggressiveness displayed by outlaw clubs in the above examples is counterposed by a positive force of mutual attraction. The ideological overlap, the organizational similarities, and common structural exigencies to which all clubs must adapt results in members sharing much within a brotherhood of outlaws. Thus, it is the aspect of territoriality that determines which of the two opposing forces - aggression or attraction - will predominate. Specifically, if neither club perceives the other as a threat to usurp their territorial hold, then the more similar the clubs the more positive and intense will be their interaction. Thus, on the Canadian west coast, the Satans Angels M.C. of Vancouver form the hub of a triumverate of one-percenter clubs in league with the Gypsy Wheelers M.C. of White Rock and the 101 Road Knights M.C. of Powell River; in addition the Satans Angels have occasional contact with the Hells Angels M.C. of San Francisco, U.S.A. All of these contacts are maintained while ignoring the more moderate Bounty Hunters M.C. of Victoria and the Catwalkers M.C. located in nearby Burnaby. Under similar circumstances the Rebels M.C. of Edmonton, Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary, and Spokesmen M.C. of Saskatoon constitute an informal alliance. The interaction of these clubs is usually limited to social events such as going on runs, visiting, and partying together. However, if the need arises, one club can count on the others for support in solving internal territorial matters.

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.):	Incidentally, a pact has been made between two clubs, not involving the Rebels, to eliminate the Apocalypse M.C. from Regina (Saskatoon). They're going to take that club off the road, and there's two clubs going to do it, namely the Kings Crew (M.C. of Calgary) and the Spokesmen (M.C. with chapters in Saskatoon and Swift Current).
Author:	Why are they going to do that?
Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.):	Well, the Spokesmen want to do it because these guys are dinks . . . . The Kings Crew want them off the road because they tried to do in a couple of the Crew. Remember that boogie that I was telling you about in Regina? Well, the Apocalypse invited them over for a drink and a party . . . . Well, some of the Kings Crew noticed that they weren't doing any drinking or smoking . . . then they sent a striker to pick a fight with one of the Crew . . . after that was handled by the Crew, they (Apocalypse) brought out an M-1 (rifle) . . . the Crew fought their way out of that one . . . the Crew came back the next day, stole their guns,

wrecked their clubhouse . . . there was a phone call between the two presidents and Crow (president of the Kings Crew M.C.) told him that this wasn't going to be the last of it: "It's just your first installment!"

Author: Taking a club off the road is a pretty heavy trip, is there more to this?

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): Well, the Spokesmen are thinking of setting up another chapter in Regina.

Author: And right now the only other club in Regina is the Apocalypse.

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): That's right.

Author: That would mean that the only club in the province of Saskatchewan would be the Spokesmen.

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, and the Spokesmen would have to change their bottom (colour) rocker from "North Sask" (Saskatoon chapter) and "South Sask" (Swift Current chapter) and just put on Saskatchewan . . . . These guys (Apocalypse M.C.) have been assholes, and assholes for a long time. When they go riding they go riding with rifles on their backs, and this is garbage. This is horseshit! We don't need rifles when we ride. If you're going to take a piece (firearm), you're going to take a piece to use it . . . . There's going to be a run just to eliminate them . . . . They'll (Kings Crew/Spokesmen) catch them (Apocalypse) at their clubhouse . . . they give all clubs a bad name. So the best thing is to do them in with violence to preserve the peace.

Ecology of Optimum Numbers

> The most important survival value of intraspecific aggression . . . (is preventing) the damage of too dense a population of an animal species settling in one part of the available biotype and exhausting all its source of nutrition . . . starving can be obviated by a mutual repulsion acting on the animals of the same species, effecting their regular spacing out (Lorenz, 1967:24).

Regulating the number of motorcycle clubs in a city or region is analogous to Lorenz's over exploitation of the environment concept. The critical factor is not nutritional degradation, it is police surveillance which is capable of leading to the extinction of the species. If one or two dominant clubs did not limit the number of outlaw clubs in an area three major developments would take place: (i) a geometric increase in the number of outlaw bike clubs would receive much attention from the media, resulting in public concern and putting pressure on the police to control the situation by eliminating all clubs; (ii) the new clubs would have to carve themselves an ecological niche by proving themselves in a hostile environment, with the increase in violence again resulting in aggrevated police harassment and the established clubs becoming the target of the new clubs; (iii) the established club or clubs loses control over the relations it has with the host community, e.g., if members of another club destroy a bar, rob a store, etc., all clubs will suffer the consequences. Thus, the short-term violence involved in shutting a club down serves the long-term function of stabilizing the clubs' relationship with the host environment and giving them control over their own destiny.

> 3 Gangs Stockpiling Explosives, Arms
> Police Fear Bikers Heading for Gang Wars
>
> Motorcycle clubs were the subject of a series of police assaults in Ontario on the weekend, as police searched for explosives and attempted to curb gang violence.
>
> Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police raided 60 homes early Saturday in an operation - code-named Dawn - involving gangs named The Wild Ones, Red Devils, and Outlaws. However, police didn't find what they were looking for.
>
> "We were looking for explosives," said Insp. Grey Cousins, who led the operation. "Our information leads us to believe there are explosives around. We just haven't got close to it yet . . . "
>
> Earlier, newspaper reports that motorcycle clubs may have possession of anti-tank launchers and hand grenades stolen from Canadian Forces Base Borden were called false by a CFB base spokesman . . .
>
> In Toronto meanwhile, police used a truck to smash through the door of a motorcycle clubhouse Saturday, charging a man in the shooting of a woman at another club's headquarters earlier.
>
> Police said members of the Para-Dice Riders and Iron Hawgs motorcycle clubs had fought each other in a tavern brawl Friday night, leading to an incident in which a woman was shot in the buttocks and

> stomach with a shotgun.
>
> Police say Para-Dice members, armed with shotguns and rifles, forced members of the Iron Hawgs to kneel on the floor and strip the club crests off their jackets . . .
>
> City and provincial police, armed with a search warrant, were later refused entry to the Para-Dice Riders headquarters and used the armoured truck to smash through the steel-enforced door (Edmonton Journal, June 25, 1979).

While riding during a September evening in 1979 the Rebels noticed that they were being followed by a plainsclothes detective in a squad car. They pulled over and asked the detective what was going on. The Rebels were told that an old lady of a patch holder who rode with the Highway Knights - one of two clubs attempting to start up in Edmonton at that time - phoned in a warning that some Rebel bikes were going to be blown up that night, and that a certain member of the Rebels was going to be shot. The Rebel who had been singled out to be shot was probably Armand who had laid a one-on-one but brutal beating on one of the Highway Knights and taken his colours. The old lady thought she could save her old man a lifetime tenancy in a federal penitentiary by giving the Rebels some unsolicited but obvious police protection. Blues told the detective that the Highway Knights M.C. and the Highway Kings M.C. were both "on their way out" and that the Rebels didn't really want or need a police escort.

It is unlikely that the police had afforded their protection out of concern for the Rebels M.C. per se. Their concern is for innocent bystanders - dynamite and shotguns are indiscriminate killers - and the negative publicity and public pressure that would result. Furthermore, the City of Edmonton police force is aware of the fact that the Rebels are an established club with no need to pull off "little asshole trips" in order to justify their existence either to themselves or anybody else.

Thus, according to one police spokesman, their policy towards the Rebels M.C. was one of tolerance:

> We leave them alone as a rule, but they know if they get out of hand we'll come down on them hard.
>
> Every now and then an individual member will get a little crazy, but they're fairly well controlled from within the gang (Edmonton Sun, January 31, 1979).

The Rebels' rationale for territorial maintenance in effect complements the Edmonton City Police task force spokesman's statement:

> Why we're going to take new clubs off the road is that there are enough clubs (Rebels and Warlords) around that those guys can join, tried and true. But new clubs we take their colours because new clubs are all power trippers; they get off on their colours in the wrong way. They tend to lay bullshit trips on the citizens and this causes us a lot of hassle . . . . Like the Devils Own (a club shut down by the Rebels) came into being. They want to prove themselves and they go about proving themselves in the wrong way. First they want to prove they're tough; so they go out and hassle the public. The man (police) comes down and says: "Alright, you bikers have been assholes." When our club was new we were assholes, like that thing (brawl) at the Roslin Hote; but we survived it and grew up (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The Rebels M.C. and Warlords M.C. ex post facto become responsible for any individual wearing a back patch. There certainly is "no love lost" between the Rebels M.C. and the Edmonton City Police (E.C.P.) and mutual harassment does occur. However, the element of predictability is their making for a stable, if opposing, interrelationship. "They (E.C.P.) know who we are. They know what our trip is. There's no love lost, but they know enough to leave us alone" (Blues, Rebels M.C.). The complementary viewpoints of both groups on the prospect of increasing numbers of outlaw clubs establishing themselves in Edmonton does in actuality lead to the E.C.P. tolerating what would otherwise be considered as activity on the part of the Rebels:

Steve (Rebels M.C.):	We maintain control of the clubs in this town.
Author:	So the police know what to expect from your club?

Steve (Rebels M.C.): The police know that we're doing it and they give us their, well not their cooperation exactly, they don't help us. But if they see us ripping some guy's colours off they just look the other way.

Author: Has that been your personal experience?

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, when I took a set at the Bonaventure (Motor Hotel) one night. Clayton and I waited for this guy in the parking lot. When he came out, I told him that I was taking his colours. He disagreed. I had the guy on the ground when a squad car with two cops in it cruises by. They pulled up and said: "What's the hassle here?!"

Author: Which club colours did the guy have?

Steve (Rebels M.C.): The Highway Kings M.C.

Author: This occurred just recently then?

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Yeah. So after the cop asks what's going on, Clayton says: "We're taking a patch." The cop looks at the guy on the ground and says: "Yeah? Well, keep up the good work!" and they drive off. You see, neither the cops nor us want the scene to become like it is in Calgary, completely fucked.

The Edmonton City Police Force recognizes that the Rebels M.C. monitors and controls the number of outlaw clubs and consequent number of activities and degree of visibility of outlaw clubs in general. Furthermore, they are aware of the fact that were the Rebels to be removed as a regulating force a political vacuum would result, a facuum that would inevitably be filled by several clubs competing in a highly conspicuous manner for territorial domination. The mutual desire on the part of both the E.C.P. and the Rebels M.C. to curtail the influx of new outlaw clubs does, in fact, lead to behavioural unison as far as territorial defence is concerned. This overlapping concern becomes evident in the following newspaper coverage in the Edmonton Sun (Beswick, 1979:3):

> GANG WARFARE FEARED
>
> Ex-Calgary bikers seek city niche
>
> Bloody warfare threatens to explode over an attempt by a Calgary motorcycle gang to move into the city.
>
> The gang - The Grim Reapers - is preparing to move into Edmonton after being kicked out of Calgary and Red Deer in the last year.
>
> They were forced to leave Calgary after a violent confrontation with a rival gang (Kings Crew M.C.). Police now fear violence here.
>
> Edmonton's Rebels Motorcycle Club has warned the interlopers their attempt to move into the city will be resisted.
>
> Individual members of the Grim Reapers have already been involved in violence here in recent weeks, and on several occasions shots have been fired, say police . . . both gangs are known by police to carry guns at times - particularly shotguns.
>
> Police are so worried of all-out battle that all departments have been told to keep an eye out for known leaders of the Grim Reapers.
>
> A police spokesman said: "The Reapers were booted out of Calgary . . . the Rebels don't want them here either."
>
> The gangs are normally kept under surveillance both by the R.C.M.P. and members of the city's elite task force.
>
> Both forces are remaining tight-lipped about the situation, but a task force spokesman said yesterday: "This is too delicate for comment." (Emphasis mine).

The outlaw motorcycle club situation in Calgary is very unstable and is characterized by both inter-club territorial rivalry and hostilities, and consequent police harassment of outlaw clubs and loners who even remotely look like an outlaw biker. "Well, I'll tell you, just between you and me. The way it is now, I'd like to run them (outlaw clubs) all off the road" (Staff Sergeant, anonymous, City of Calgary Police Force). The rather unsavoury state of affairs is a result of the fact that due to one major historical incident seven outlaw clubs were at one time simultaneously in operation in the city of Calgary

City of Edmonton
(Estimated Population - 500,000)

Rebels M.C.
Warlords M.C.

City of Calgary
(Estimated Population - 450,000)

Grim Reapers M.C.
Lucifers Union M.C.
Chosen Few M.C.
Barbarians M.C.
Kings Crew M.C.
Minority M.C.
Outcasts M.C.

The major reason why this multitude of clubs were able to establish themselves is that in 1970 the Grim Reapers M.C., which had up to that time controlled the number of Calgary clubs, was itself decimated when thirteen of its members were convicted of non-capital murder. Prior to the murder the Grim Reapers M.C. had recently shut down three other minor clubs. The most satisfying of these was Rumpelstiltskin Raiders, a group which adopted the symbolic trappings of an outlaw club in terms of bikes, dress, and club cards claiming to be a one-percenter club. Yet, they were in actuality a very conservative bunch with very little in the way of being a solid club to back up their claim to outlaw fame: "We were very idealistic white knights" (Member, Rumpelstiltskin Raiders M.C.). One of the reasons an outlaw club maintains control is to ensure that the image of an outlaw 'biker' is not polluted. Thus, while C.M.A. chartered road riding clubs such as the Golden West M.C. are ignored and classified as "candy-assed," and C.M.A. competition oriented clubs such as the Calgary Motorcycle Club (dirt track events) are just ignored, a "mickey mouse" club which either endeavours to establish itself through a number of "asshole trips" or in effect attempts to distort the outlaw image by erasing social structural boundaries, become prime targets for established clubs. These upstart clubs find themselves the victims of both police and inter-club harassment. The major reasons why they fail to survive the formative period is that they do not have the economic base and legal network ties - necessary for the legal defence of members, bond money, contesting questionable traffic violations, filing charges of harassment, etc. - in order to resist the surveillance of the local law enforcement agency; nor do they have the personnel resources in terms of both numbers and commitment - there is always an initial period of membership turnover until a solid core crystallizes - to withstand the brutalization that will be inflicted by clubs defending their territory. Some of the heartier elements of Rumplestiltskin Raiders M.C. amalgamated with the remnants of the other two clubs that had been taken off the road and ex-strikers from other Calgary clubs to form the Outcasts M.C. in an attempt to stave off the Grim Reapers.

On a Saturday evening in March 1970, the Grim Reapers invited the president of the Outcasts M.C., Ronald George Hartley, along with several members of his club to "party" at the Grim Reapers M.C. clubhouse several miles south-east of Calgary. The purpose of the party was to discuss and perhaps resolve the territorial feud in a non-violent manner. Hartley, however, became quite drunk at the party and claimed that the Outcasts were going to run the Reapers off the road. Making a statement of that nature under those circumstances is both undiplomatic and dangerous; in this case it proved to be suicidal. One of the Reapers took Hartley aside and administered a severe beating while other Reapers restrained members of the Outcasts from assisting their president - several were injured but none seriously. After the fisticuffs subsided, everybody returned to the party. Although Hartley was still capable of drinking, his twenty-one year old wife, Bonney, felt that he needed medical attention. When Hartley's condition obviously began to deteriorate he was carried by members of his club to a van, stretched out on a mattress, and driven back to Calgary. He was pronounced dead upon arrival at the Calgary General Hospital. The Coroner's report that followed stated that although the wounds inflicted upon Hartley in the fracas could have eventually resulted in his demise, the actual cause of death was asphyxiation; the Outcasts had laid their president face up, he regurgitated and drowned.

There were no witnesses to the actual beating and the identity of the Reaper who took offence to Hartley's remark. In keeping with the brotherhood code, none of the Reapers revealed the identity of Hartley's nemesis. As a consequence, thirteen members of the Grim Reapers M.C. - all those present at the party - were charged with non-capital murder. The thirteen were remanded without election or plea; it was the largest joint murder charge ever laid in Canada. The incident received widespread media coverage including front page billing in the local newspaper: "Man Beaten On Road 13 Charged In Death" (The Albertan, March 10, 1970). It surprised no one that, in the midst of the public indignation that resulted, all thirteen Grim Reapers were convicted. By April of 1973, the appellate division of the Alberta Supreme Court reversed the non-capital murder convictions - life imprisonment - of twelve of the thirteen members. Nine of the twelve charges were reduced to manslaughter (2½ years' imprisonment), the remaining three received outright acquitals. Such are the vagaries of the legal system. Those members that were released had to serve a probation period which for members like Geo meant exile from the city of Calgary. Geo moved to Penticton, British Columbia, and his house became a favourite stopover point for Alberta clubs heading for the B.C. coast. This development proved to be a major thorn in the side of the Penticton R.C.M.P. who, with the cooperation of local motel and campground operators, previously could count on there not being any accommodations available for touring clubs, and thus be in a position to enforce vagrancy laws.

The Grim Reapers had been neutralized as far as being an effective force controlling the growth of outlaw clubs in Calgary. While the Outcasts M.C. folded after the loss of their president, the Chosen Few M.C.

were able to revitalize. One year later the Lucifers Union M.C. emerged in north-east Calgary, while two years later the Barbarians M.C. formed in south-east Calgary.

Author: Would it be correct to say that your club (Rebels M.C.) has a strong territorial policy and that this is the major reason for the difference between the outlaw scene in Edmonton and Calgary?

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): Well, yes, there is one. But this is the reason that the club has officially put it down as: There's just no way that any club wants anybody else to infringe on their rights . . . Calgary is just a friggin' mess; it's a total disaster! These (new) clubs . . . are establishing themselves, and are . . . becoming powerful enough that the other (established) clubs can't shut them down. Because let's say the (Grim) Reapers and the Kings Crew said: "Alright, we're going to shut down clubs!" They can't do it because all of these five other clubs immediately come together and form a block. No, they can't do it anymore.

Author: There's a lot more hassle with the cops down there because of that?

Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): Oh yeah, for sure. What they have done . . . is a pact amongst all the clubs . . . once a club is defunct, it shall no longer return to the road.

Territoriality and Drugs: Motorcycle Clubs as Vehicles of Organized Crime

"The outlaw motorcycle gangs are North America's newest and most overlooked form of organized crime" (Schenk and Kessel, 1977:30). A number of outlaw clubs, acting as either separate entities or as unit members of larger networks of clubs, engage in the illegal manufacture and distribution of chemical drugs (made in laboratories) such as methamphetamines and L.S.D. along with those refined from an organic base such as marijuana/hashish, heroin, and cocaine. Another dimension is added to club participation, that of economic subsistence. The production and marketing of a commodity that generates an income capable of supporting their members constitutes a major step on the part of these outlaw clubs towards complete independence from the establishment. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police estimate that outlaw motorcycle clubs control seventy-five percent of the illegal "speed" (methamphetamine) market in Ontario; the San Francisco Police Department, who recently arrested eighteen members of the Hells Angels M.C. for drug-related charges, speculate that the Angels alone control ninety percent of the methamphetamine trade in northern California. While the street sale value will vary in terms of availability, competitors' prices, demand, etc., one could expect to be able to sell speed at a base-line price of $8,000 a pound in Canada, and $12,000 a pound in the United States (Schenk and Kessel, 1977). In 1973, the Ontario Police Commission declared that outlaw motorcycle clubs were an element in organized crime.

> In their escalating war against outlaw biker gangs, the police had their biggest success with the 1975 Oba Lake bust. The R.C.M.P., the Ontario Provincial Police, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and several municipal departments teamed up to crack a drug ring operating out of a remote hunting lodge, accessible only by air, 150 miles north of Sault Ste. Marie. Police staked out the operation from a duck blind for several days. Then, on August 6, posing as sportsmen on an early morning fishing trip, they moved in with small boats. They found nine pounds of completed PCP (a dangerous horse tranquilizer widely used as a "downer"), another 236 pounds one step away from completion and more than a ton of ingredients. The drug network operating out of the factory was traced to buyers as far away as Florida and Georgia, and estimates of the street worth of the material seized ranged up to $60 million. At the heart of the ring was Alan Templain, a Satans Choice in St. Catherines until 1973, owner of the $60,000 lodge and a sea plane. At his right hand was Bernie Guindon, 34, the Satans Choice founder and national president (Schenk and Kessel, 1977:32).

Under these conditions wherein territorial maintenance is requisite to economic subsistence, political alliances become more widespread and inclusive, while inter-club warfare reaches its most violent spectre.

The two major alliance structures on the North American continent are: (1) the Hells Angels M.C. with their innumerable American chapters and affiliate clubs across the United States and Canada; (2) a league between the Outlaws M.C. - the second largest outlaw motorcycle club organization in the United States with twenty-seven chapters ranging from the mother chapter in Chicago, to Georgia - and the Satans Choice M.C. - the largest outlaw motorcycle club organization in Canada with twelve chapters in Ontario and one in Quebec. The more prominent conflicts occur between the above two federations in terms of their mutually opposed expansionist policies. More recently a breakdown in the 1975 trade and mutual protection pact between the Outlaws M.C. and the Satans Choice M.C. has led to a power struggle in Ontario with each club trying to curtail the expansion of the other by amalgamating and aligning themselves with smaller established clubs.

> Toronto Globe and Mail quoted a senior police intelligence officer in Montreal as saying bikers in some Ontario clubs are stockpiling not only legal rifles and shotguns but illegal weapons, such as pistols, automatic weapons, anti-tank rocket launchers and hand grenades stolen from CFB (Canadian Forces Base) Borden and CFB Petawawa.
>
> The newspaper quotes Harold Graham, commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police, as saying concerted efforts are being made to control a potential open war this (1979) summer between two U.S.-based motorcycle clubs - the Hells Angels and the Outlaws (Edmonton Journal, June 25, 1979).

Although the Angels-Outlaw war did not materialize in Ontario, territorial skirmishes did take place in the U.S.:

> He lived and died 'like an Outlaw'
>
> Blazing pistols pay tribute to slain biker.
>
> Telogia, Fla. (UPI) - With blazing pistols, the Outlaws buried fellow biker Leonard "Terrible Terry" Henderson Wednesday - honoring him as a man who lived and died by the Outlaw code.
>
> Henderson, 29, was one of five members of the motorcycle gang killed last week in Charlotte, N.C., in what police call the Fourth of July Massacre . . .

Conclusion

Maintaining a degree of constancy in the number of outlaw motorcycle clubs in a given area is critical with respect to two elements: (1) the psychological element of personal identity, and (2) the ecological principle of optimum numbers. One of the primary psychological functions of membership in an outlaw club is the achievement of a personal identity through membership in a (i) unique group, that (ii) defines its own social structural relationship with the host community. With respect to uniqueness, Grimaldi, former president of the Fearless Albinos M.C. - now defunct, courtesy of the Rebels M.C. - commented to an Edmonton Journal reporter regarding the origin of the club's name:

> Albino because that is a rare type of person, and fearless because that is rare too.
> That is the kind of guy we want - one who will be loyal to, and protect the way we are. And they are rare (Tompkins, 1970:46).

The salience of uniqueness can result in a certain degree of selective perception as became evident in a barroom conversation with the president of one of the then seven outlaw motorcycle clubs in Calgary: "There's only one club in Calgary, the Chosen Few" (Ace, president, Chosen Few M.C.). The ability to define one's own social structural relationship with the host community is usually spoken of in terms of the outlaw freedom ethic: "We do what we want to do, when we want to do it" (Blues, Rebels M.C.). Personal and collective identity are effectively merged in the context of a fixed territory. This merging is symbolized in the club's colours which declare the club (centre emblem) and territory; and both of these are surrounded by personal items (patches, badges, pins, etc.), that reflect individual/idiosyncratic experiences and declarations of self. The defence of these colours is critical; their loss is both necessary, and under most circumstances, sufficient to terminate a club's existence.

The presence of other clubs (i) dilutes the uniqueness of self and collective group image and inevitably leads to competition between clubs as to what is, and who is, the outlaw biker:

> You often have one of your members having a conflict with one of theirs; you know, it could escalate into a lot of trouble. It's better not to have other clubs around; they're trouble in the long run (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

The activities of other clubs furthermore (ii) mitigate against any one club controlling its own destiny. This loss of control results from the fact that any one club will suffer the reactions and ramifications coming from the host society in response to the activities of any other club:

> When there's other clubs around there's always somebody that is doing something wrong, eh. And to a citizen a guy on a motorcycle wearing colours on his back, well, the guy he takes it out on (any other) patch holder and he doesn't have to be from the same club; he's just as guilty, eh. So you have to answer for everybody else's shit too. You can for your own, but it's bad when there's other people around and you're getting shit for what they do (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

Based on man's propensity to define personal space and his inherent capacity for aggression, the above situation demands the defence of the group probity. In particular, members of outlaw clubs must secure the territorial integrity of the association upon which they base their identity.

Focussing on the ecological dimension, the principle of optimum numbers is not related to the overexploitation of any particular resource as is the usual cause when we speak of a species. Rather, the critical factor becomes visibility; in particular, the alerting of the general populace of antithetical social deviance in their midst. One cannot underestimate the role of the media in this instance, for the average individual has never seen, let alone interacted with, an outlaw biker. Regardless of this fact, when the visibility factor results in public indignation, the police are forced to respond to the outlaw threat . . . control the visibility of social deviance. When outlaw clubs become the vehicle of organized crime, there is an even greater effort on the part of those clubs to eliminate new economic competition and to reduce their own visibility, i.e., sedans, suits and ties may be substituted for motorcycles and leathers. In response to these illegal activities the police intensify their efforts to terminate clubs in order to eliminate criminal deviancy.

Established outlaw clubs realize that their long-term survival depends on establishing some degree of predictability between their activities and the reactions (legal and otherwise) from the host community: "If we want a hassle, we'll go look for it ourselves" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.). Long-range survival thus rests upon establishing strict boundary maintenance in the form of a territorial monopoly. Thus, in order to preserve their set apart status outlaw, clubs adopt a territorial policy wherein "the best thing is to do them (new clubs) in with violence in order to preserve the peace." Outlaw bikers do not, however, enjoy intimidation, broken bones, being shot at, or burying a brother. Their message is join an established club.

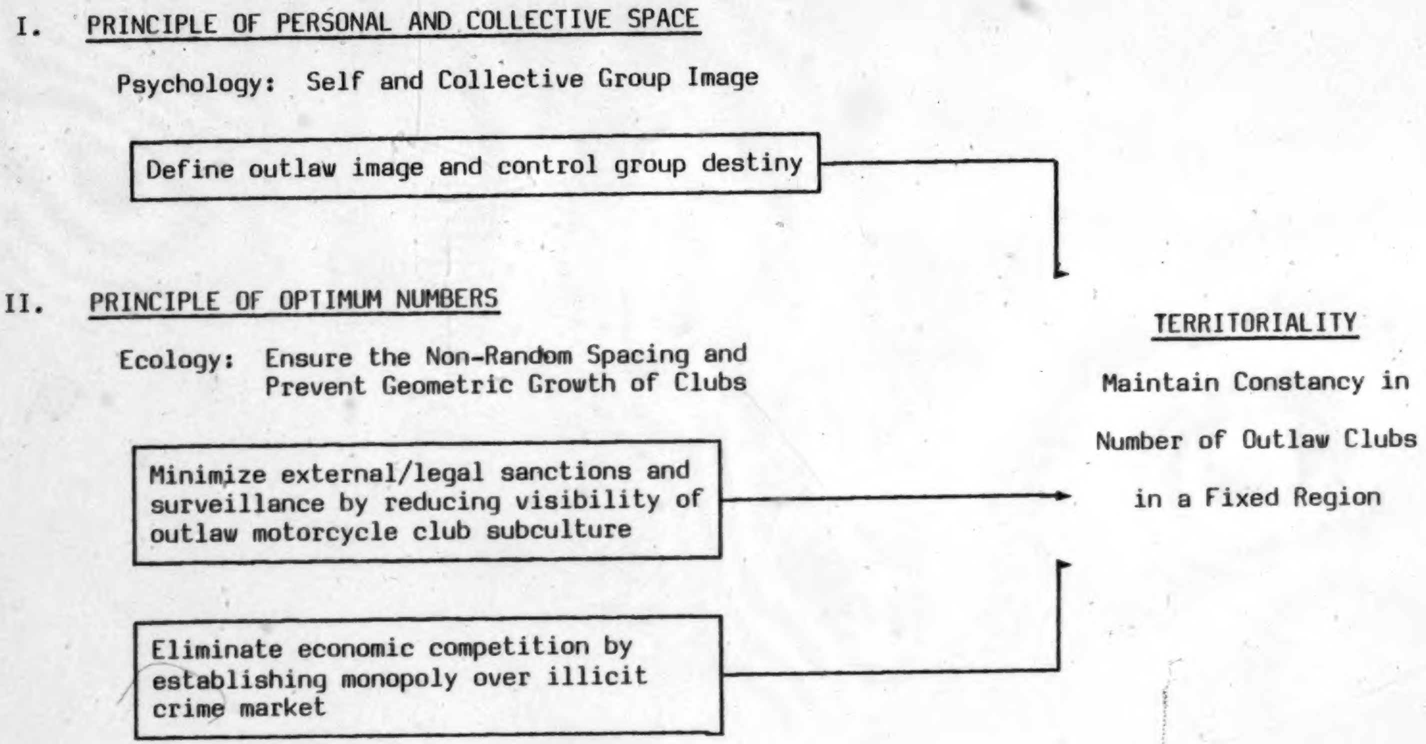

I. PRINCIPLE OF PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE SPACE
Psychology: Self and Collective Group Image
Define outlaw image and control group destiny
II. PRINCIPLE OF OPTIMUM NUMBERS
Ecology: Ensure the Non-Random Spacing and Prevent Geometric Growth of Clubs
Minimize external/legal sanctions and surveillance by reducing visibility of outlaw motorcycle club subculture
Eliminate economic competition by establishing monopoly over illicit crime market
TERRITORIALITY
Maintain Constancy in Number of Outlaw Clubs in a Fixed Region

Figure 6. Principles underlying established outlaw clubs prohibiting the formation and regulating the activities of other outlaw clubs.

Chapter 14

CLUB RUNS: MASTER TRAIT AND SYMBOL OF THE OUTLAW IDENTITY

"We all have one thing in common - we live to ride and ride to live" (Spiderman and Sundance, Bloodstone M.C., Los Angeles, California).

In 1965 when the Hells Angels M.C. were quickly rising to the heights of national notoriety, Newsweek magazine offered the public a description of what took place on a (typical) Labour Day Run:

> A roaring swarm of two hundred black-jacketed motorcyclists converged on the small, sleepy southern California town of Poterville. They rampaged through local bars, shouting obscenities. They halted cars, opening their doors, trying to paw female passengers. Some of their booted girlfriends lay down in the middle of the streets and undulated suggestively. In one bar, half a dozen of them brutally beat a 65-year-old man and tried to abduct the barmaid. Only after seventy-one policemen from the neighbouring cities and the Highway Patrol, police dogs and water hoses were brought into action did the cyclists jump on their Harley-Davidsons and roar out of town.

From the outlaw perspective as portrayed in Easyrider (1975) magazine, the run becomes an embodiment of bikers "In the Wind":

> . . . the exhilaration and feeling of complete freedom enjoyed by bikers everywhere. Nothing illustrates this freedom -
>
> This leaving all your problems and cares behind you, this letting it all hang out groove - better than the sight of a guy kicked back, feet up on highway pegs, with his girl tucked in behind him, flying down the highway with their hair blowing in all directions.

To state that a run is a great or major event in an outlaw biker's life is to be guilty of understatement. Just as the motorcycle is the master symbol of an outlaw biker's lifestyle, so too the run becomes the master trait of the club's functioning. Through this master trait the club fulfills a basic but covert social-psychological

Plate 12. A club run. Just as the motorcycle is the master symbol of an outlaw biker's lifestyle, the run becomes the master trait of an outlaw club's functioning.

need: programming intervals of time, or, more loosely expressed, runs serve as the pivotal points in the scheduling of an outlaw's lifestyle. For clubs north of the 49th parallel, the year is halved into a seasonal cycle consisting of the "riding season," a time for "riding," "partying" and "raising hell"; followed by the "friggin' cold" winter months, a time for "repairing," "rechroming," "rebuilding," and "making a dime" to pay for it all. The beginning of the riding season is celebrated with a mandatory run in the spring (usually the Victoria Day long weekend in May); and its termination is marked by a mandatory run in the fall (customarily the Labour Day long weekend in September). While members will have their motorcycles on the road both prior to and after this official riding season, it is during this time period that most clubs will apply sanctions against those members who fail to keep their machines operational:

> 3. If at any time a member does not have a motorcycle in durable condition for a twenty-day period during the riding season, which is from May 2nd to Labour Day Weekend (approximately September 5th), his membership is automatically challenged by the club (Kings Crew M.C., Constitution, 1974).
>
> 9. If a member's bike is not running for a period of thirty days, unless he is in jail or hospital, his colours will be confiscated. A member's bike must be running for at least one week (e.g., not fifteen minutes), to be exempt from the above rule. This period is subject to change at the discretion of the club (Rebels M.C., Constitution, 1975).

A more indirect regulation that complements this official ruling is the stipulation (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules) made by most "class" clubs that a member does not wear his colours when he is not currently using his motorcycle. Thus, if during the course of a party, a beer shortage arises, a member will remove his colours if he requires to use a truck as transport in order to restock the club supply. During the winter months, colours are locked away with only old ladies and/or one or two brothers knowing their location. The bottom line is that one does not project the master symbol if one does not manipulate the master trait.

The Rebels M.C. and the Warlords M.C. designate April 1st as the start of their riding season. It is during the winter months that the majority of members will acquire jobs. The money is necessary to pay off club and other assorted debts, pay the rent, and purchase parts necessary to repair and rebuild, repaint, and rechrome their machines. For about half the members, winter presents the opportunity to accumulate enough funds to enable them to spend the entire riding season free of all obligations other than those of their own choosing: riding, partying, hunting, fishing, bullshitting over beers, sharing in the risk, and engaging in the power and adventure of touring the highways with one's brothers. These activities complement a self-conception that was prevalent among many members, a type of "cowboy imagery":

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): I sort of sometimes feel like a cowboy. You know, I've always thought that I was born a hundred years too late. I sometimes wonder why I don't like the city at all. I like to spend the summertime out of town; even in the winter, I like the quiet solitude of the mountains.

Author: Do you think that other members feel the same way?

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, there's quite a lot of people (members) that go to the mountains. I do a lot of fishing in the summertime with my brothers (members). Because it's just being able to, I guess you could call it escaping. Everyone has to escape. Some people escape in blues, and I can dig blues; some people escape in dope, and I can dig the occasional toke. I think I escape in reality, in the mountains, fishing and pissing around with my brothers.

Motorcycles are stored in garages of members who have them; or for a small monthly fee, in the back of Ken and Steve's Brothers Custom Motorcycle Ltd. shop. Raunch solved his storage problem by laying two planks on his doorstep and driving his hog into the livingroom:

> During the winter I come home from work (welder) and I like nothing better than to warm up some food, grab a cold beer from the fridge, turn on the television and tinker on my scooter while I watch Gunsmoke. I guess I'm still basically country. Later on, I'll go out to the bar with some of the guys (Rebels) or someone'll drop over here (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

Keeping a motorcycle mechanically sound under continual use requires a nominal degree of skill, a greater amount of dedication, and mostly time. It is not surprising, then, that with the advent of winter many of the club bikes have accumulated a backlog of maintenance jobs. This is maintenance that has been postponed or "jerry-rigged" by members in order to avoid having to take their bikes off the road during riding season. Thus, in September, a member might put off the lengthy process of replacing a bent shifting fork and keep his fingers crossed against the embarrassing prospect of his bike slipping out of gear - instant neutral - when jamming out from an intersection. This strategy will of course vary from member to member. None would be surprised to hear that Blues had stayed up till the early morning hours to do a top end job on his engine - rings, valves - after he thought he heard his engine miss once. On the other hand, Cra[illegible] experienced trouble with his carburetor linkage during a May run; we pulled over and employed a little improvization. Come September, Crash's timing system linkage was still being held together with one of the hair bands owned by the author's old lady.

If over the winter months a biker decides to do a major "chopping" or customizing job on a stock machine or engine, he inevitably finds himself running into "Murphy's Law":

(1) Nothing is as easy as it looks
(2) Everything takes longer than you think
(3) If anything can go wrong, it will (Peter, 1973:38).

For example, if you decide to install a stroker kit - improving the power, smoothness, sound, and overall performance of the engine - you'll probably find that all the "tall gears" necessary for stroker gearing have disappeared from the face of the earth. This "ball busting" situation is usually exacerbated by the "Harley-Davidson Dealer's Law: If its necessary for the operation of your hog, it's been back-ordered."

In addition, every club will have its share of night-before artists. Randy of the Warlords M.C. stayed up two days straight rectifying minor ailments on his Sportster prior to the April 1st deadline. On the third day, "I had just one more thing to do, my headlamp was flickering. But I had had it by then. I looked at the wiring diagram in the (service) manual and the fucking lines were moving. I fell asleep right there in the garage." Some members draw upon the resources and expertise of their brothers; other don't; but all manage to meet the April 1st deadline. However, considering the probability that Alberta is snowbound at that time of the year, most members wish they hadn't, i.e., one Warlords M.C. "Welcome to Spring" involved riding through mud at +1°C temperatures to attend an outdoor bar-b-que that featured beer that was "nice and cold" due to the falling snow. The following week (April 19), the Rebels M.C. attempted a one-day run to Pine Lake (240 miles roundtrip). The sun made an initial and token appearance when the run began at eleven in the morning, then came clouds, rain, and finally, snow:

Danny (Rebels M.C.):	It was pretty weird. You'd be coming into a turn and the wind would catch you and your front wheel would just slide across the wet pavement.
Snake (Rebels M.C.):	We had guys going both ways. Tiny tried to turn back but he said he ran into snow so thick he couldn't see more than five yards.

The "white-out" turned a one-day run into a two-day snow-in as the Rebels took refuge in some rented cabins. "The time passed pretty well though; after a while, the management was buying us free beer and we got stinking drunk" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

> The first of April is rolling round.
> It's time for a change.
> It's time for the skies to roll away,
> and open up their arms for me
> and all my friends.
>
> Since last year when the snows first came,
> I've waited for the rain to rinse my head.
> From October till the May flies come
> the snow is here.
> But then you know I've had my fill.
> There's something in the wind and white
> that keeps me still.
>
> Now wouldn't you know,
> it started to snow
> again just yesterday;
> and the weatherman says
> there's another storm on the way (Humphrey and the Dumptrucks).

There is a variety of runs that members will engage in over the course of the riding season. Some runs are occasioned by atypical events such as an "initiation run," "funeral run," "biker's wedding," or "graveyard run." Runs that occur on a regular or scheduled basis include: (1) mandatory runs; (2) stag or holiday runs; (3) weekend runs; (4) regular day runs.

Mandatory Runs - The Rebels M.C. holds two mandatory runs over the course of a year. The first, held on the Victoria Day long weekend in May, marks the opening of the riding season. The second, held on the Labour Day long weekend in September, officially closes the riding season. Attendance for members becomes compulsory and is subject to sanctions:

> 11. Victoria Day and Labour Day are mandatory runs. A $20.00 fine will be incurred if absent or leaving early, and a $5.00 fine for being late (Rebels M.C., Constitution, 1975).

In addition to the automatic fine, the member will be required to appear before the executive board, where he will have to explain his absence; and his colours will be discussed. If, in the opinion of the executive board the matter is serious enough, it will be brought before the membership at a general meeting. If in turn the group decision goes against the member, the absenteeism may warrant his being put on probation or loss of colours - these latter sanctions will be imposed only if the member's lack of participation has become the norm rather than an exception to the rule.

The May Victoria Day Mandatory Run is largely an intra-club affair limited to Rebels, their invited guests, and respective old ladies, i.e., patch holders from other clubs are not included. The Labour Day Mandatory Run, on the other hand, has an added political dimension; and it becomes a multi-club affair with the Rebels M.C. acting as the host club. In order to attend as a guest, an individual had to be a friend of the club and sponsored by a member. The individual was voted on at a general meeting; if he received two negative votes he didn't attend. Furthermore, if a member feels he has just cause, he can ask the guest to leave at any point in time:

> It works this way. On a mandatory run, each person is brought up for a vote. Like you were brought up for a vote. And it only takes two negative votes to exclude them from the run. But on a run, or at the clubhouse, or any place any individual member has the right to say: "I will stand up for this man!" or "I will take responsibility for this man!" However, if the other member still says: 'I don't want him here!' then that's it (the guest leaves), he has a right to do that at any time, and it only takes one man to do it (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The club will congregate for a run at either the clubhouse or a service station/restaurant, depending on which is closer to the highway route on which the club will be travelling. The idea is to avoid travelling across the city as a unit. The sight of thirty outlaws roaring down city streets to the crescendo of rumbling Harley engines is about as subtle as a military barrage; and "cops come after loud pipes." This particular Victoria Day weekend, the club was meeting Saturday morning (9:00 a.m.) at the Roslyn Hotel and leaving at ten o'clock (a.m.). The author and his old lady, Sandra, were pulled over by a police cruiser on their way to the Roslyn; it was a standard identification, serial numbers, helmet quality, do you belong to a club, do you have a record, are you carrying drugs, etc., etc., check. They arrived at the Roslyn at 10:10 a.m., but the club had departed, and all that remained was an empty can of Castrol Oil on the parking lot. The author was walking across the street to buy a map when Crash pulled onto the lot for a gas fill. Crash had been stopped by the cops also, and had been dragged down to "the cop shop" to account for some unpaid traffic fines. They let Crash go after he signed an affidavit stating he would pay his debts to society within two weeks. If he failed to do so, the next time the police checked Crash out, he would be thrown in jail. "I would have been all right except that the cop knew me. You know: 'Hi, Crash. Paid any of those traffic tickets we've given you'?" (Crash, Rebels M.C.) The above "surveillance" is the main reason why the club meets at least one hour before it is scheduled to leave. While one police squad car very conscientiously cruised the Roslyn parking lot - perhaps anticipating more stragglers - another squad car followed Crash and the author to the city limits where they waved goodbye and set off to find the club.

After about twenty miles, when Crash had to stop because of timing troubles, they discovered that neither of them knew the route that the club would follow; they decided to purchase a map at the next service station. Coyote (author): "I thought you'd gone there last year?" Crash (Rebels M.C.): "Yeah, I was, but I was so fucking stoned all the time that I can't remember how to get there."

Crash repaired his advance-retard unit by using an elastic hair band that the author's old lady used to keep her hair in a pony tail while riding. In the meantime, Sandra had put out a small fire smouldering in Crash's sleeping bag - tied to the sissy bar acting as a comfortable backrest - that had been ignited by a wayward spark caused by the faulty timing system. As they approached the next service station, the author and Crash noticed the line of predominantly black shovelheads and panheads of the Rebels M.C. beginning to pull out. A lot of the customized gas tanks that outlaw bikers attach to chopped bikes are sleek in appearance but slender in carrying capacity - from one and a half to two gallons - a fact which necessitates a gas stop every sixty to seventy miles. Crash and the author joined the Rebel column as it moved onto the highway.

A run converts riding a motorcycle or "jamming" from a singular activity into a group event. The necessity that the actions of individual members be coordinated into a group strategy emphasizes interdependence and unity of purpose; in turn, the merging of individual experience into a group phenomenon serves to enhance group identity. When riding as a group it is necessary for a club to establish procedural rules that will provide for an effective communications system and plans of action. Without this group strategem, the pack would be extremely vulnerable when situations arose which demanded a coordinated response; under these conditions a miscue on the part of one member might spell eminent disaster for an undetermined number of others.

The pack advances as a column of twos travelling in a single lane. This procedure - riding side by side - is technically illegal; but it is efficient, impressive, and, if done with the right precautions it is a safe format. The column maintains a tight formation with motorcycles spaced from ten to fifteen yards lengthwise and approximately three and half yards widthwise; in each unit of two, the bike on the right will ride approximately one yard behind the bike to his left (Figure 7). Each Rebel eventually gets to know the riding style and idiosyncracies of every other member and his machine in order to know what to expect from that individual under any given situation. For example, Wee Albert customarily rides astride of Tiny in a column formation:

> Tiny is a very cautious rider. We always ride near the back of the pack. When in formation, we sometimes leave nearly double the usual space between us and the bikes in front of us. That way, he doesn't have to alter his speed as much when the whiplash of the column comes around when we go into turns. He just lays back when they speed up and catches up when they slow down as the whiplash takes effect. He's a very good rider. He realizes that with his weight on a bike that he can't stop as fast. Like Tiny weighs near 285 pounds[4] (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Members are aware of how such things as wheel size, tire size, weight of bike, degree and length of fork extension on customized or chopped bikes, presence ("juice frame") or absence ("hard tail") of rear shock absorbing system, all affect handling and overall performance. These facts are combined in terms of general principles such as the longer the front end extension, the better the handling of the bike in a straight stretch of highway; yet there is a commensurate loss of handling efficiency at low speeds and when navigating tight turns. An unwritten rule of thumb

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[4] The carried weight factor drastically affects the breaking capacity even of a large motorcycle. For example, a stock Harley-Davidson electriglide or "dresser" at 750 lbs. has a breaking ability that outperforms most cars. However, add a 150-pound passenger to that bike and the required stopping distance increases by thirty-five percent at 60 miles per hour.

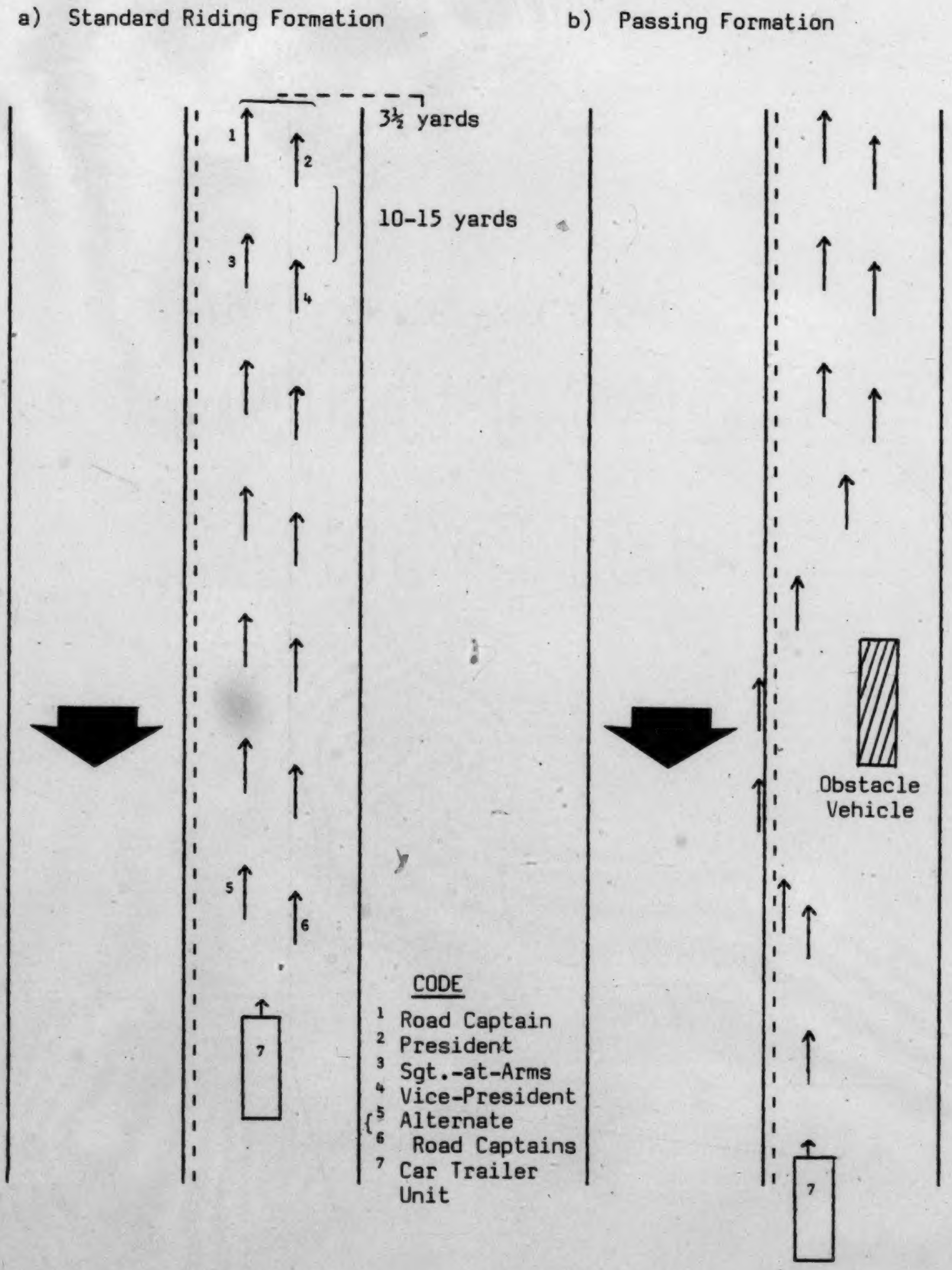

Figure 7. Riding formations.

is that members will team up with individuals whose riding styles and motorcycles emulate their own or with which they feel most comfortable. This added degree of familiarity allows members to maintain a visual vigilance (from an unhooked bungee cord to an oil leak) over their riding partner's machine. "Hey Coyote (author), I'm selling my (chopped 1960) panhead, so I'll be riding beside you with my decker (stock 1967 FLH)" (Jim, Rebels M.C.).

At the head of the column is Danny, elected as the club Road Captain due to his riding expertise. The Road Captain establishes the speed and route that the club will take to reach its destination. The Road Captain also initiates any necessary group action. Thus, when the Road Captain decides to pass a slower moving vehicle, he will make a right hand turn signal followed by a 45-degree point signal to the left. The signal is passed on down the column. Bikes riding on the left side of the column increase the distance between themselves allowing the bikes on the right side to move into the enlarged brackets in order to form a single file (Figure 7). Once in a single file, the bikes pass the obstacle vehicle and reform the column. The president rides adjacent to the Road Captain, and the other members of the executive immediately follow. At the rear of the column ride two alternate road captains: Saint and Caveman. The function of the alternate road captains is to ensure that a tight formation is maintained and to assist casualties. Thus, if a bike "drops out" of formation for mechanical or otherwise reasons, one assistant road captain will fall back to assist the member effectively while the other assistant road captain will expedite the reformation of the column.

The last unit in the Rebel entourage is the "club trailer" - a white 1969 Plymouth pulling an open trailer painted black with the Rebel insignia - a white cracked skull against a black and red background - on either side. This car-trailer unit is employed as a transport vehicle for carrying (a) booze, in this instance seventy-five cases and two kegs of beer along with a case of wine; (b) foodstuffs, such as weiners, beans, corn, watermelon, etc.; (c) personal items that members would rather not pack on their bikes in the way of tents, fishing poles, cooking utensils, etc.; (d) maintenance equipment such as motorcycle tools, spare parts, and lubricants, enabling the Rebels to make all but the most sophisticated on-the-spot repairs; and (e) space to accommodate any motorcycles that are crippled to be transported to the "run site" for repairs. Most solid or established outlaw clubs avail themselves to some type of transport vehicle that they utilize on lengthy runs. For example, the Gypsy Wheelers M.C. of Whiterock, British Columbia, employ a van which has the additional utilitarian feature of being equipped with a short wave radio capable of monitoring R.C.M.P. squad car frequencies. The Bounty Hunters M.C. of Victoria, British Columbia, use a converted school bus; the Iron Cross M.C. of California has a club housetrailer, etc.

As a means of transport, the motorcycle is highly vulnerable. What constitutes a minor road hazard to the operator of a four-wheeled vehicle may prove fatal to the cyclist. Hitting a 6' x 12' pothole at one hundred kilometres per hour holds the possibility of damaging the suspension system of a car; however, it holds the probability of catapulting the motorcycle - wheel over wheel - into oncoming traffic. The motorcyclist is completely exposed to vacillations in weather conditions. Being caught on the highway in a September night rainstorm involves the inconvenience of turning the windshield wiper and heater switch for the motorist; on the other hand, to a motorcyclist, it means forcing one's eyes open against the biting rain while the wet cold slowly numbs the muscles and slows reaction time when the road conditions are most demanding. Furthermore, the motorcycle offers nothing in the way of vehicle protection. The results of skidding into a guard rail in a car may be limited to applying a mould and repainting the vehicle; for the biker, a guard rail constitutes a potential meat grinder. In an article entitled "Murder-Cycles," Scaduto (1967) offered the following statistical summation based on U.S. Department of Transport statistics:

> Figuring the death toll on a mileage basis, four cycle operators are being killed for each person being killed in an accident involving a car - and the car death figures are swelled because they include pedestrians and other non-occupants. And finally, while motorcycles make up only 1.4 percent of all vehicle registrations, they are involved in 2.8 percent of all fatal accidents - double the percentage of their registrations (Scaduto, 1967:52).

Motorcycle outlaws are neither ignorant nor impervious to the dangers inherent to motorcycling in general, or to the accentuated risk involved in their "lay back and give her" style of "jamming" in particular. Each club member finds his own balance between the fascination of "reaching the edge" and the fear of "going beyond it."

> A motorcycle gives you a lot more responsibility. You need better reactions. It demands more of you; it develops your self-discipline. It does a lot of things and it does what you want it to do providing you're capable . . . . You have to respect your motorcycle. You're asking for a quick exit if your attitude is: "Aw, it doesn't matter if I go out and ride like I'm in a demolition derby!" Well, if you decide to pull that little trip, then you know you're finished (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

Given the hedonic characteristics of biking, the run constitutes a collective act of freedom: the control of power; the execution of skill; the sensation of the elements; the exhilaration of speed; all of which have that much more meaning because a failure in one's performance will bring home the reality that the underlying essence of this arousing experience of life is its ultimate defiance of death. This aspect of collective risk taking further cements the bonds of brotherhood and further isolates the Rebels as a risk-taking elite from the citizen who rides within the controlled and conditioned confinements of a car - a vehicle (symbolically?) referred to by outlaw bikers as a "cage."

On the Victoria Day Run, the one unsettling incident occurred when Dale the Butcher experienced a biker's nightmare: a blowout on his front tire. Dale would have felt the front end of his bike lift slightly the same moment he heard the loud bang. There is an immediate loss of all stability from the sidewalls of the tire as the rim moves back and forth relative to the tire's tread. After its initial shudder, the bike begins to vibrate extremely and wobble unpredictably. There is an effective loss of steering control as the vibrations are relayed from the struts to the steel handlebars; as the bone-jarring wrenching tears away at strained and weakening shoulder muscles only the strongest will maintain their grip. If the biker is in a turn at the time of a front tire blowout, it is game over - you simply do not have enough control to even afford yourself the "luxury" of laying the bike down and sliding out in a gracious manner. Voodoo, who was riding beside Dale at the time, heard the bang and pointed to Dale's tire; and the members who were following moved over to the left. While the Rebels were unable to help their brother, they could at least give him the chance to "ride it out" on the highway shoulder. Dale's occupation involved him handling a meat cleaver for eight hours a day; and as a result, he has perhaps the best set of forearms in the club. Dale managed to slow down gradually; he eventually wound up in a ditch by the roadside but he did not drop his bike. It was considered a "class" performance on his part.

At the periodic gas stops members may make minor adjustments such as Raunch resetting his carburetor intake with the assistance of

Indian. Other members will bide their time by eating snack foods, smoking a few cigarettes, refreshing themselves with coffee or coke, and engaging in good-humoured bullshit sessions. This was the case when a car pulled in with bumper stickers proclaiming that "Jesus is Coming" and that "The Lord is Thy Saviour."

Dianne, Wee Albert's old lady (Rebels M.C.): I hope he's not coming. The last time he came he sure fucked things up.

Dale (Rebels M.C.): When that tire blew, I thought it was going to be me leaving rather than him coming.

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): You know I still can't figure out how Mary had a kid and stayed a virgin.

Indian (Rebels M.C.): Maybe they used artificial insemination.

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): Even so, when they stuck it in her they would have popped her cherry. Look at Killer, he's got the skinniest cock going, but he at least scores the cherry.

Indian (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, it gets even harder when you wonder how she had the kid.

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): Naw, that part's easy. She was such a fucking prude that she just barfed it up when old Joseph got it together enough to show her his cock.

Tiny (Rebels M.C.): Psalm 22, Verse 26, Thus sayeth the Lord.

When the group reached Long Beach, the rangers said that the campsite was full. A few of the members went past the barricades to see for themselves and the RCMP were called by the ill-at-ease rangers. The scouting party found the campground to be packed "like sardines man!" "One of us should get one site and invite the rest in as guests; we'd have the campsite all to ourselves in two hours" (Snake, Rebels M.C.). When the RCMP arrived they advised the road captain and president that suitable accommodations were available at Amisk Lake. Amisk Lake was crowded with campers, so the Rebels took over an adjacent but relatively isolated field. After the tents were set up and members began a wine-testing party, the author decided to bring out his J5V football.

Snake (Rebels M.C.): When I was riding beside you and I saw that football, I said: "Jesus, he wants to get us all killed!" A football on a run is a dangerous weapon.

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): He was sent here by the Warlords with a football so that we'd commit suicide with it.

Steve (Rebels M.C.): Naw, he just wants to see what a bunch of fucking primitives will do when you give them a toy.

In any event, a wild game of team keep-away began with members taking occasional reprieves to guzzle wine.

Larry (Rebels M.C.): Killerball, that's what it was. Boy, I'll tell you, I picked up some pretty wild bruises. You and that football have gotta go. It's funny, as long as I've been with the club, nobody ever thought of it before . . . we had a lot of fun, it gets everybody off that drinking scene. Sure, everyone had to be drunk to even go out there but two hours later you've sobered right up . . . but then someone put a bunch (24 hits) of acid (L.S.D.) in the wine and nobody knew about it.

Author: I think it was Voodoo.

Larry (Rebels M.C.): Yeah, that stupid Voodoo, and all of a sudden everybody is wrecked and I couldn't figure out what I was doing at first. It felt like a kill-or-be-killed type situation.

The team that was getting the worst of it grabbed the football, some beer and wine, along with a hooka pipe (used for smoking hashish), and retreated up a tree. Those members on the ground felt that those in the tree were being "elitist assholes" and decided to bring them down. When throwing branches didn't work, they got hold of some axes and started to chop the tree down. The tree members retaliated by throwing empties at the axemen. The members on the ground then went to the club trailer, got emergency flares, and started shooting them into the tree. This strategy was effective enough; it also started a small grass fire under the tree. The tree people surrendered the football, and some strikers were told to put out the fire before it ruined their campsite. And so the weekend went.

Over the three-day period, a number of the Rebels rented row boats and motor boats and went fishing. Jim, who only brought "a can of beans and my fishing rod," caught nine on one outing and feasted on jackfish for the rest of the weekend. Tiny and Shultz were not so lucky. Tiny was towing Shultz's row boat but the weight and drag was too much and Tiny's boat sank.

Shultz (Rebels M.C.): Tiny went down with the fucking ship man. When the water started coming in, he just sat there.

Caveman (Rebels M.C.): Tiny is just too fucking lazy to move.

Steve (Rebels M.C.): They could leave him out there in the lake as a spare boat; just turn him on his belly, paint two numbers on his side, and get him to hang on to the oars.

While most members caught fish, which were fried and shared over evening fires, there had been expectations of roast pig. On previous mandatory runs and occasional clubhouse bar-b-ques, the off-the-farm trio of Raunch, Crash, and Caveman raided a not-so-nearby farm and brought back a pig. But one member of the rustling team, Caveman, had a cast from heel to thigh as the result of an oil-rig mishap. While he still managed to ride his "hog," his pig-chasing expertise was nullified. Crash did try to steal some chickens from a nearby farm but: "That farmer must have five dogs for every chicken he has."

The evening was spent partying - eating, smoking, drinking, conversing - by the campfires. Extra-curricular activity included wrestling matches, pouring beer on strikers "to see if they would dissolve," and the chastisement of Gerry's female companion. She had made the mistake of interfering in the preparations for the initiation ceremony that took place that afternoon. As Gerry's old lady (girlfriend in this instance), the girl took it upon herself to steal and hide a pail of fish entrails that had been collected and designated as part of the ritualistic material to be used in Gerry's initiation. Although nothing was said at the time, it became known that "she gets hers tonight." That evening, a member approached her and said that Vern - an active weight lifter - was strong enough to lift her off the ground by her ankles. "No possible way!" was her reply. Vern then said: "Lay down between two guys and I'll deadlift all three of you." Snake and the author volunteered and she laid down between them.

"Now, cross your arms and legs with Snake and Coyote so I can lift all of you at once." When her legs and arms were intertwined with theirs, she was unable to move hers, and she began to realize her predicament. Vern reached down as to pick her up but instead slowly undid her belt, lifted her sweater up, pulled her slacks and underpants down; and then he proceeded to give her an impromptu but thorough cold beer shower.

The most obvious and overt function of runs is the solidification of intermember ties through participation in the mutually enjoyable activities:

> There's a social aspect to it (a run); we become one; we're brothers. It's getting closer to your brother. Riding our bikes together makes us more in tune with each other (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

For the individual members, it is a time when they can most explicitly act out their identity as bikers. It is an anti-hero identity whose existential credibility relies heavily on distinguishing itself from its antithesis, the "citizen." As a result, subcultural borders are not merely maintained, they are brandished:

> I dislike to use the word, but we power trip on each other. It's a time when you can let your hair down and be the kind of biker that you want to be if you happen to be on the hell-raising side. Like if a member wants to harass a tourist or something like that, you know, really freak him out, well that's fine. A mandatory run is the time to do it . . . . On a mandatory run, we don't take any shit from anybody! (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

What follows is a comment by Blues on the "effect" that resulted when the Rebels M.C. joined forces with the Kings Crew M.C. while escorting them to a party in Edmonton:

> That was beautifully heavy man! Like I was riding maybe sixth in line; and you'd look back and there would be nothing but fucking bikes! They were stretched out for about a mile (the two clubs could field a complement of fifty bikes). We must have made a few citizens shit their pants. You can imagine the look on their faces when we passed by them (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

As is the case with other Rebel social functions, runs featured a characteristic emphasis on partying hard, long, and wild, with the general expectation that "everyone will get wasted." A member has to take his ability to party seriously, or, as Wee Albert once advised: "If you leave the party early, someone's liable to piss in your boots" - or pull the pegs from your tent if someone hasn't already fallen on top of it. However, it had been a long day of riding, "football," fishing, wrestling, and initiation ceremonies; furthermore, members had brought old ladies along and were anxious to enjoy the luxury of "feline" company. Consequently, brothers began to crawl back to their respective tents and sleeping bags around 4:00 a.m. Terrible Tom, however, was exceptionally willing to perform and was not to be denied. At 5:00 a.m., after the last of his brothers had passed out by the fire, Tom started yelling, "Get up! Get up! Let's party!," followed by several none-too-melodious renditions of local Indian war chants sung to the rhythm of Tom pounding a rock on a garbage can. Several members took exception; and the next morning, Steve, the club sergeant-at-arms, jumped Tom and handcuffed him to a barbed wire fence, and proceeded to urinate on him.

> Steve (Rebels M.C.): Tom, you're going to smell as sweet as you sing!
>
> Terrible Tom (Rebels M.C.): No! Ah, c'mon! Hey, look at that stupid Polish cock! It's not even circumcized.
>
> Raunch (Rebels M.C.): I remember once when Steve put those cuffs on me. He put them on so fucking tight that the circulation was cut off. There I am with my hand turning purple, and he says: "Key? What key? Hmmm . . . can't find it; guess I'll have to look around."

The party ethic is one principle of the hedonic psychology that underlies the outlaw motorcycle club ethos. Partying becomes an existential practice of the outlaw biker's principles of freedom and pleasure. The expression of these hedonic impulses is viewed by members as running counter to (i) the establishment's social tenet of maintaining structure through rigid control; and (ii) the middle class morality of restraint leading to respectable moderation. From the Rebel perspective, the psychological distance between themselves and "citizens" stems from the fact that, as social outlaws, they have not been completely subdued to social routines over which they have no control.

> They think we're animals because we don't play their stupid middle-class games; we don't parade around in little suits and ties, telling each other how respectable we are. Those fucking dudes are so worried about being respectable they've probably never made a decision on their own that wasn't spelled out for them . . . like fuckin' rubber stamps man (Jim, Rebels M.C.).

In addition, some of the members' remarks seem suggestive of a disdain for the imposed predictability and safety of a "bird in a golden cage" existence.

Terrible Tom (Rebels M.C.):	Look at those "campers" roughing it with their fucking trailers, refrigerators, T.V. sets, stereos. They'd probably move to the nearest motel if the television set gave out and they couldn't watch the hockey game. We should go over there and have a party.
Ken (Rebels M.C.):	Leave them alone, they're citizens.

The fantasies of some members, while not equally prescribed, are equally arbitrary in maintaining this psychological barrier that precludes any degree of empathy with outsiders:

> Shultz and I are going to take a couple of shotguns into some rich guy's house in an expensive neighbourhood; and we'll line everyone up against the wall. Then we'll blast away at their refrigerator, pull its plug out, then leave them standing there wondering what the fuck happened (Tiny, Rebels M.C.).

The Labour Day Mandatory Run which marks the end of the official riding season (September 1st) assumes an added political dimension insofar as it involves other clubs, i.e., bonds between members of different clubs are initiated and solidified within the context of inter-club alliances. The Rebels M.C. acts as a host club and gives out invitations to a number of other clubs such as the Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary and two Spokesmen chapters of Saskatchewan. These clubs may, in turn, invite individual guests or another club, provided those guests receive the approval of the host club. The town of Coronation (population of 1,200) was chosen as the original site in 1975, because of its equal proximity to the three member clubs of the informal alliance. The success of the original and subsequent runs to this town has resulted in the annual event being nicknamed the Coronation Run.

The success of this run was due to several factors such as the provision of camping facilities, a dirt track where members could race their bikes, a nearby town where supplies could be replenished. However, the most critical factor is that of isolation: the campground was designated as a "bikers only" area - thus, conflicts resulting from "misunderstandings" with curious citizens is avoided along with damage to private property resulting from the robust activities of the clubs. The law enforcement agency - consisting of a five-man R.C.M.P. detachment - is consequently under no pressure to interfere with the illegal (soft drugs and drinking) but confined, satisfying, albeit dangerous, club activities. After the third Coronation Run, an article appeared in the Calgary Herald newspaper entitled "Bikers Invade Coronation but Nobody's Worried":

> The first bikers' convention two years ago caught the farmers and 1,200 townspeople off guard. Some feared for their children and property . . . they doubted that the R.C.M.P. could do much if things got out of control.
>
> Now, it seems, folks look forward to the annual Labour Day "run" of the hairy young men on their noisy machines.
>
> Coronation mayor Bud Carl said the first time the bikers came to town, "we were quite concerned. There were about one hundred of them and we didn't know what they were going to do. There are some pretty wild characters in that outfit . . . but they have been coming here for three years and to my knowledge, they have caused no trouble whatsoever. I have had no complaints from the police or civilians; in fact, they bring quite a bit of business to town."
>
> 'We're not looking for any trouble,' said one biker (Caveman) from the Rebels motorcycle club of Edmonton. "We just want to have a good time" (Tivy, 1977:1).

Both the R.C.M.P. and the Rebels recognize the fact that the most volatile situations arise from citizen-outlaw contact:

> The gang gather just outside of town, at a provincial campsite behind the rodeo race track. There's only one road in and the R.C.M.P. park a patrol car at the entrance.
>
> "They're a good bunch," said one constable, "They just go up there and have a good time. The thing we worry about is that some of the locals might go in and stir things up."
>
> For the most part, the locals respect the bikers' wish to "hoot and holler" in privacy. And the bikers gently but firmly send on their way anyone who isn't dressed in the familiar uniform of dusty jeans and oily jacket (Ibid.).

Under these circumstances, wherein containment precludes the necessity of border maintenance activities/confrontations, the outlaws are able to concentrate on their own customary entertainment:

> Everybody has a wild time there. They've got this race track there and this one yoyo from Lucy's Onion (Lucifers Union M.C., Calgary), found this ramp and said he was going to use it to jump his superglide over a barbed wire fence. He looked pretty good till he hit the fence. He dragged about ten fence posts and cut himself all to hell! Then his buddies came along and dosed the poor beggar with Canadian Club (whiskey). He got up screaming and yelling; I never saw him again. Danny (Rebels M.C.) was racing around the track and into the trees. He was pulled off his bike by some branches and his scooter wiped out three tents. Some of the guys were so drunk that they got lost and woke up the next day in the trees about five miles away from the campsite. I went over and asked Ken if I could ride his bike. Just before that I took a few drinks of wine that had been spiked with L.S.D. So there I am, booging around the track, feeling okay until I decided to get off the bike and go over and have a few tokes (marijuana) with the guys. Funny how L.S.D. makes you forget about the basics of life, like stopping your bike before you get off. It was quite a tumble (Jim, Rebels M.C.).

"Ride hard, die fast" - When a patch holder reaches too far and goes beyond the edge, his demise is marked by the triple six "666," the symbol of death's bright angel. The funeral run that follows has several important personal and social dimensions. There is a coalescence among the outlaw fraternity as a whole as the word of death is spread around. If the death is related to what are considered outside hostile elements, such as the actions of law enforcement agencies or citizens, or if death was the climax to the subcultural art of jamming, then an informal truce between feuding clubs settles in as all clubs make preparations for the funeral run. There is, of course, the embracing ingredient of bereavement, the sense of deep personal loss that comes with the departure of a brother. Individual members inevitably reflect upon the subcultural values that they shared with the deceased brother and which may have led him too soon to (fate's decadent) destiny. The dead biker ex post facto becomes a subcultural martyr; the drama and emotion of his death and funeral are intertwined with outlaw symbolism; for example, the hearst is escorted by a solemn honour column of motorcycles and the casket is draped with his club colours. Conducting the funeral ceremony in this manner prevents death from demoralizing the club and channels the sensitivities surrounding life's most traumatic event into the regeneration of the group by encapsulating it within an outlaw context. The funeral run effectively confirms the outlaw lifestyle through joint participation in an emotive event from which inevitably emerges some symbolic gesture of defiance such as riding the funeral run without helmets or the firing of pistols as a final salute.

> We were supposed to meet Paul (Paul Robson, secretary, Satans Choice M.C., Toronto Chapter) at 9:30 right by the turnoff (intersection of highways #401 and #7). When we got to the turnoff, we all pulled over and had a smoke, had a few bottles of wine; we were getting it on with the wine and stuff. Paul didn't show up; so we didn't bother waiting, we split from the T.O. (Toronto) chapter and headed home (Brampton). We got up next morning and we had a phone call from Bernie (Guidion, president, Satans Choice M.C., Toronto et al.), and he says: "I got bad news for you. Paul was killed last night. He was trying to pass a fuckin' car and he was ripped out of his mind on speed (metamphetamene) and he went front end into a fucking grader. It was game over. You couldn't recognize him or his bike."
>
> You wanna see a fucking funeral man! There was close to five hundred fucking motorcycles right through the city of Toronto; and not one was wearing a fucking helmet. I'd like to see the fuckin' cops try to break that one up! There were people double on the bikes, not by yourself, two to a bike. That went from Richmond in Toronto right to the far end towards Oshawa, nothing but a stream of fucking bikes . . . cop escort at the front, cop escort at the back. It was the saddest thing . . . he had his bike buried with him. You know, I fucking cried at that. I knew the guy really well. I knew he was happy because . . . anyways, we wore armbands for the next few days, black armbands. We all took our colours off; we never wore our colours for a week in remembrance of him (Gypsy, Satans M.C.).

Once or possibly twice a year, the Rebels have a stag run, which by definition, excludes the presence of members' old ladies. Those members (fifty percent) who work the summer either schedule their holidays or terminate their employment for overlapping periods; and for them the stag run becomes a holiday run. The stag run has traditionally been a two to three-week excursion down to Calgary (Kings Crew M.C.), westward through the Kootanies and across the Rocky Mountains to Whiterock (Gypsy Wheelers M.C.) and Vancouver, across the Georgia Strait by ferry to Victoria (Bounty Hunters M.C.), and northward along Vancouver Island to Powell River (101 Road Knights M.C.). The elimination of old ladies promotes the priority of intermember brotherhood ties and generates a greater latitude of adventurous undertakings that members can partake in:

> The stag runs are designed to be with your brother, to be with your brother with no outside influence at all. A lot of the guys tend to be a little more sedate when their old ladies are around (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

This annual westward migration of Alberta bikers meets with a less than enthusiastic response from local (British Columbia) law enforcement agencies. Most prominent in this respect is a special six-man RCMP surveillance team which operates out of "E Division" in British Columbia. Nicknamed "E-squad" by outlaw bikers, the surveillance unit was formed in 1972 largely in response to the high profile performances of west coast clubs during the late sixties. For example, the Satans Angels M.C. became involved in the sexual abuse of "maids" and "butlers" whom they kidnapped from the Vancouver hippie community. Public indignation prompted then (1966) Provincial Attorney General Robert Bonner to demand that "pressure" be applied to outlaw motorcycle clubs. The assignment of Sergeant John B. Finnie (Vancouver City Police Homicide and Robbery Squad) to full-time investigation - reconnaissance and wiretapping - of the Satans Angels M.C. led to certain members of that club being charged and eventually convicted of offences ranging from kidnapping to homicide. Headed by Corporal Don Brown, the task of the R.C.M.P. surveillance team is to monitor the influx, activities, and movements of outlaw motorcycle clubs within the province:

> "Our surveillance squad has been in operation for five years," said the head of the British Columbia unit. "We monitor the bikers' whereabouts, what they look like, whom they associate with and when they get together" . . . officials have pursued a policy of photographing and identifying gang members, to isolate gang members who may be facing criminal charges. The close tabs are necessary not just to watch the bikers, but to keep an eye on townspeople whose vigilante instincts get the better of them and spur them on to pick fights with the riders (Edmonton Report, May 2, 1977:22).

With respect to the "vigilante instincts" of "townspeople" Wee Albert and this writer were pulled over by members of E-squad while on a boogie from Hope to Whiterock. They warned us to "watch out" because the "felt" that local residents had seen the main vanguard of Rebels pass by earlier and they might take shots at loners or groups of two. From a personal perspective, it is perhaps notable that being shot at is quite effective as far as a societal reaction to the initial act (membership in an outlaw club) leading to a confirmation of one's identity as an outlaw and perhaps heightening one's proclivity towards anti-social or deviant acts. At any rate, the gap between outlaw and citizen increases.

> Clayton and Jack were driving the club trailer and were about to pass this truck camper with American plates on it, when this guy points a rifle at them. So they pull back and let the camper move ahead. This Yank gets to the next town, phones the R.C.M.P. and tells them that these guys pulling a trailer were pointing guns at them. So the R.C.M.P. pull over Clayton and Jack, pointing their revolvers at them. They throw Clayton and Jack in a ditch; handcuff them; then they tear apart the trailer looking for the guns. When they find nothing, they finally listen to Clayton's story. They found Clayton and Jack easily enough but they never found the American camper. I mean, why bother the middle-class Yanks with their fat wallets? It's these "motorcycle killers" you've gotta watch, eh? (Jim, Rebels M.C.).

Most outlaws are aware of the fact that once you fly the colours of an outlaw club - regardless of whether or not you are actively engaged in illegal activities - you become involved in a war with an "unjust world." The Rebels M.C., like the majority of outlaw clubs, do not prey upon the establishment; their misdemeanours are usually confined to the tight confines of their subculture including those males who dare to cross the line and those females who care to take a walk on the wild side . . . "Bikers stick to their own." The cost of such activities to society is negligible when compared with the economics of "respectable" white-collar crime. However, while they may not be predators, they are active as opposed to passive in their attempt to create a socio-political niche outside of the establishment wherein they are the decision-making body. They are too obvious and brazen - with their defiant insignia and demeanour - in their attempt to create freedom through control by using the club as a collective leverage against the restrictions and constraints of the establishment. That "outsiders" share these frustrations but lack the collective means to establish a buffer against them, perhaps explains the fascination that motorcycle outlaws hold for the public, and which the media consequently emphasizes more often than not without due respect for fact:

> Even people who think the (Hells) Angels should all be put to sleep find it easy to identify with them. They command a fascination, however reluctant, that borders on psychic masturbation (Thompson, 1968:334).

Outlaw bikers conceive of themselves as rebels who "stick to their own" and attribute most hostilities involving outsiders to citizens with a "tough guys, eh?" attitude:

> They're just jealous of the freedom we have. We don't get into this 'society trip' where you get tied down with a house, two cars and bank payments (Clayton, Rebels M.C., in Edmonton Report, May 2, 1977:22).

Outlaw bikers may indeed animate fascination among female members of the outside community, and arose envy among males. However, as far as overt behaviour is concerned, the following statement is more characteristic of the citizen response to the outlaw phenomenon:

> Why should we allow these guys to run around looking like that? You can bet that if one of these motorcycle gangs roared into a campground every camper would bring out his shotgun, loaded and levelled (Anonymous, middle-class chartered accountant, Calgary, Alberta).

The fundamental fact of the matter is that affections of fascination and envy are only possible at a proper (safe) distance such as vicarious observation through movies and novels. Fascination and envy are quickly supplanted by the trepidation of fear and the agitation of hatred when the reality of actual interaction looms near. The confusing combination of these emotions usually manifests itself as hostility:

> I was travelling with a guy when this dude runs us off the road. I manage to keep my bike up and take off after this guy. He pulls off onto a side road and parks. As I pull up, this guy points an M-1 rifle out the window and says: "You want something?" I wasn't scared then, but as I turned around I heard the gun cock and I started to shake. Like it was all too clear man. Do you know what I mean Coyote? . . . no one was around, no witnesses, nothing. It seemed for a long time I couldn't move, I was imagining this hole burning its ways through my back. He didn't shoot; maybe he noticed the guy who was riding with me had reached the top of the hill and was watching (Frank Neski, honorary member, Rebels M.C.).

According to a Canadian Press release out of Vancouver, the official legal reaction to the influx of out-of-province clubs was that they "will pose a security problem in British Columbia":

> Motorcycle Gangs from Alta. to Face Surveillance in B.C.
>
> (Cpl. Don) Brown said in an interview the outside clubs will combine with local gangs on weekend rides.
>
> "Clubs realize one hundred bikers look more impressive than twenty," he said. "When they ride into a town which is hostile to bikers they can put up more resistance."
>
> Clubs which police will observe closely this summer include the Rebels and War Lords (Warlords) of Edmonton and the Kings Crew, Grim Reapers, and Minority from Calgary . . . .
>
> Brown said some bikers with hunting permits will legally carry shotguns. "We are aware of the potential but there is nothing we can do. And we don't care as long as they keep the peace."
>
> Members of Brown's team will travel in cars behind the clubs on weekend rides and step in to prevent local residents from starting a fight (Edmonton Journal, April 28, 1977:3).

An interesting aspect of E-squad's function which would not be included in any official statement of purpose was expressed to the author by an R.C.M.P. officer in Burnaby during the course of a standard "shakedown":

Author: Judging from the number of times I've been pulled over, I take it that the biker situation is pretty heavy here?

R.C.M.P. Constable: Yeah, it is.

Author: Things get out of hand?

R.C.M.P. Constable: Not so much any more. We have a special five-man squad formed after the Satans Angels incident. They look after the bike clubs.

Author: What clubs do they watch?

R.C.M.P. Constable: Mainly those in the Greater Vancouver area.

Author: What exactly do they do?

R.C.M.P. Constable: They ride the tails of cyclists in the city . . . continually checking them out for drugs and (stolen) bikes. Harley parts are hard to come by (back-ordered and expensive), so there's a lot of theft.

Author: You know, although most use some soft drugs, I can't see you ever finding any great quantities of grass or pills on most bikers, other than a few roaches (or marijuana) or maybe a few pills (metamphetamenes).

R.C.M.P. Constable: Yes, but it's nice to know where they're getting it from, and when they're caught, most are pretty cooperative. They have no great love for dealers or pushers.

The Rebels M.C. view Corporal Don Brown's surveillance team as being professional in their approach and they tend to reciprocate: "We let the R.C.M.P. know that we're going on a boogie and E-squad provides us with a police escort" (Ken, president, Rebels M.C.). In the past, Brown's squad has prevented potential conflict situations from arising by escorting the local outlaw clubs to isolated areas. In a conversation with Tiny and Kenny Redman, president of the Catwalkers M.C., Tiny told of a "successful" run to Williams Lake a week earlier:

> The R.C.M.P. (E-squad) gave us our own camp place and nobody bothered us; it was like it should be. These two chicks came down with not too many clothes on. Of course they got fucked. We later heard that they complained to the R.C.M.P. who had shut off the area; but they (R.C.M.P.) wouldn't do anything about it. It wouldn't exactly stand up in court; I mean, two chicks come sniffing around our campsite like half-grown female pups. Besides, the cops had closed our area off, so the whole thing would have made them look pretty stupid too (Tiny, Catwalkers M.C.).

Somewhat ironic was a situation wherein a confrontation between the Bounty Hunters M.C. of Victoria and an R.C.M.P. detachment in the interior of British Columbia was defused when E-squad intervened on the club's behalf:

> We were travelling through this small B.C. town when their R.C.M.P. hauled us over. They weren't going to let us go because of (the serial numbers on) our bikes. It looked like things were going to get pretty ugly until one of our guys phones E-squad and they come down and tell these jerks to let us go (Crazy Charlie, Bounty Hunters M.C., Victoria, British Columbia).

The R.C.M.P. surveillance team can be fairly candid in their approach and relationship to outlaw clubs. For example, decorating the walls of the Bounty Hunters M.C. clubhouse - along with two hundred or so empty Bacardi (rum) bottles and the colours of two clubs they shut down - are 8" x 10" glossy prints of Bounty Hunters jamming down a highway; these photos were taken undercover and sent to the Bounty Hunters M.C. by E-squad. Those outlaw clubs who are not as disposed to readily accept E-squad as a fact of outlaw life in B.C. must at least recognize and adjust to their presence. "We go on a run and E-squad makes sure - that they find out. They phone us or use other ways" (Teo, President, Gypsy Wheelers M.C., Whiterock, British Columbia).

From surveillance to harassment:

> Don Stevenson, president of the twenty-member Kings Crew, out of Calgary, says that throughout the 300,000 or so miles the club logs every year, it is subject to increasing hassles from the R.C.M.P.'s "E-squad" and local police. Riding hours are eaten up while officials check for drugs, stolen bikes, illegal weapons and I.D.'s; the search policy only intensifies ill will between riders and police. He claims that although his club members have made a practice for years of phoning ahead to R.C.M.P. units to advise them of their routes, local officials duplicate the checkstops impeding riding even more. That could be avoided if the R.C.M.P. would radio ahead to local law enforcement units advising that the group has already been checked over, but Corporal Brown explains he can do nothing if local police want to check for themselves (Edmonton Report, May 2, 1977).

The R.C.M.P., however, do indeed radio ahead. While at R.C.M.P. headquarters in Penticton, the following message came over the radio dispatch at 1:00 p.m.: "Car 7760 . . . approximately thirty to forty bikers heading east, highway 97 . . . approximately ten miles out of Princeton . . . estimate Penticton arrival at 2:00 p.m. . . . will advise." The Tribesmen M.C. had left Surrey (Greater Vancouver area) that morning on a Dominion Day (July 1) Run to Penticton. Their movements had been monitored from the moment they left Surrey. The patrol car that had radioed in was one of a group of three that had just conducted a surveillance checkstop of the Tribesmen - a one-hour process - on the outskirts of Princeton. The officer was now advising the Penticton detachment in order that they might set up their own roadblock outside the town of Penticton. The Tribesmen tried to run the blockade at Penticton, but were pulled over. According to the Tribesmen's road captain, the opening conversation went something like the following:

> R.C.M.P. Constable: Why the fuck did you run the blockade?
>
> Road Captain (Tribesmen M.C.): Why you just finished checking us out two hours ago. What do you want?
>
> R.C.M.P. Constable: We're going to give you so much fucking heat, you'll never come back here again!

In the search that followed, thirty-eight unopened cases of beer were confiscated; the charge - suspicion of bootlegging. Four arrests were made: two for possession (of unopened beer!), and two for obstructing an officer (one member became very distraught with the prospect of the club's beer being confiscated and hung onto the door of the Volkswagen van until two officers managed to break his grip). The Tribesmen were told to stay out of Penticton, so they set up a campsite two to three miles outside the town.

The particularly hostile confrontation between the Tribesmen M.C. and the Penticton R.C.M.P. is in many ways the result of problems endemic to policing a "tourist town," features which are characteristic of the city of Penticton. The city of Penticton (1974) has a population of 18,000; however, the recreational/tourist influx triples the population during the six-month summer period, e.g., the relatively small city contains one hundred and three motels alone. Consequently, there is a large number of tourists relative to the local population - 2:1 ratio. Tourists are generally looking for a good time and adventure as part of the Great Canadian Escape. Furthermore, given the anonymity of the new demographic setting, this action-oriented group is less likely than local residents to respect private property. These factors become particularly salient when one considers the size of the law enforcement unit: a fourteen-man detachment of R.C.M.P. supplemented by an auxilliary police force. The problems of policing a tourist population whose numbers exceed (double) that of the local residents with limited manpower sources, are accentuated during long weekends (Victoria Day in May, Canada Day in July, and Labour Day in September), when tourist facilities are inevitably overloaded. Lack of suitable accommodations results in large crowds (composed in the main of young people looking for inexpensive but unavailable accommodations as Penticton has no public campground facilities), which congregate. Given the proper catalytic agents, the situation is highly conducive to public mischief and/or civil disorder. This became evident one July Saturday evening when the mere arrival of four "loners" (Harley riders but not patch holders) including the author, touched off a series of events that culminated in a riot scene.

Lance, Doug, Bill, and the author pulled up on their bikes at Skaha Lake. There were several hundred people - mainly young transients - on the beach; but other than a Volkswagen van pumping out music, several fires burning, and a number of couples dancing on the sand nearby, the whole scene appeared quite harmless. It looked like a good place to stop and "dig" the music, and "grove" the lake while we digested our chicken dinners. The arrival of their bikes caused some excitement as a score of individuals came forth to admire the motorcycles. One young lady handed the writer a Labatt's Blue (beer) and it seemed like a good place to be. However, as the researcher tipped the bottle back, he noticed an R.C.M.P. cruiser parked nearby. The constable got back into the cruiser, picked up his radio mike and began talking while he started in our direction. Shades of deja vu; the author somehow got the premonition that the present state of quiescence was not a sign of things to come. The author pointed the officer out to Lance and they decided not to get off their bikes just in case "something was about to come down."

Five to ten minutes later, two other squad cars arrived and cordoned off the streets. More cruisers arrived, including police dogs and their handlers. Ten constables approached the cyclists as the officer in charge picked up a megaphone and made an unwelcomed directive and announcement to the crowd: "Drop the beer! The beach is closed!" As the author looked at Lance, he felt the nightstick jab into his side.

R.C.M.P. Constable: Get moving you! Get moving!

Author: Why? This is a public beach and we're just standing here. There's no problem.

R.C.M.P. Constable: The beach is closed and you were told to leave town! How come you're still here?

Author: Who was told?

R.C.M.P. Constable: Your whole crew was told!

The researcher was about to ask for clarification on that last bit of information when he noticed that the crowd was turning into a mob. The R.C.M.P. were in effect taking indiscrimate action against the crowd as a whole. The unintentional result was the moulding of a heterogeneous mass into an homogeneous group growing both in terms of solidarity and single-minded opposition to the R.C.M.P.'s "unjustified" threat of removal from a "public beach." The rowdier elements began yelling, "Get the pigs!" What was most disturbing was recognizing that while it was the crowd that was "looking for action," the cyclists, by virtue of their high profile as social outlaws, had become the crowd's focal point of opposition to the R.C.M.P. No doubt the R.C.M.P. were cognizant of what was happening and also realized that from their perspective the most efficient way to defuse the crowd before it became aware of its own power would be to exhibit an unquestionably firm show of force. Anything less would be more provocative than it would be effective. "If you value those bikes, you'll clear out" (R.C.M.P. Constable). All things considered, it was time to leave. Just as they were pulling past the cordoning squad cars, an R.C.M.P. handler sicked his dog on the author, perhaps hoping to cause him to wipe out. Fortunately, the author was concentrating so intently on getting out of there, that he didn't have the mental reserve to (over) react to the attack. Bill, who was following, did, and he laid his engineering boot into the side of the dog as he rode by. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the R.C.M.P. had made a tactical error in attempting to close down the beach. A more reasonable strategy would have been to contain the problem on the beach rather than have it spread to the streets, since there are formidable logistic problems in attempting to disperse a crowd of several hundred people that have no place to go. We rode towards the campsite of the Tribesmen M.C. just outside Penticton on Lakeside Road; back at the lake, apparently the situation continued to deteriorate:

> 12 Youths Face Charges After Skaha Lake Melee
>
> A mob of about 700 persons harassed motorists, damaged cars and battled police Saturday evening on Highway 97 near the airport.
>
> Twelve people were arrested, but not before an equal number of policemen were cut and bruised in the fracas (Penticton Herald, July 2, 1974:1).

From the police point of view, it was "the worst weekend they have experienced." In the Penticton Herald (Ibid.:3), police reported that it was furthermore mentioned that: "Motorcycle gangs visited the city as they usually do on long weekends, but caused no serious problems." Be that as it may, the police raided the Tribesmen campsite after the lakeside incident. From the perspective of the citizenry:

> . . . most Pentictonites are very solidly of the opinion that the hazard (of the transient tourist trade) outweighs the gain, and they will back authorities to the hilt in establishing, if they can, more rigorous and legally enforced fulfillment of their will in the future (Editorial, Penticton Herald).

According to city alderman Gordon Butterfield: "We still need stronger policing. These things go on and on" (Ibid.). More to the point is the comment of H.W. Cooper, City Administrator, that ". . . there must be a confrontation one day. Nothing goes away without a confrontation" (Ibid.). Just as the city administrators must be sensitive and respond to public opinion, so too must the legal enforcement agency be responsible to the opinions/directives of city administrators.

For local policing agencies, these "political" pressures are more immediate and direct than is the case with the R.C.M.P.'s "E-squad" which is responsible to the Superintendent of E District and indirectly to the Province of British Columbia attorney general. Therein lies the reason for the difference between the surveillance strategy of the R.C.M.P.'s E-squad and the harassment tactics of R.C.M.P. detachments assigned to specific localities.

Vancouver presents an interesting situation wherein both the citizenry and law enforcement agencies have been highly sensitized to the presence of outlaw motorcycle clubs:

> I was in Vancouver and we went to visit my aunt. There were three of us, myself and two members of the (Kings) Crew (M.C., Calgary). I go up and try the door and no one's home. So we go back to the bikes to decide what's next. Next thing you know, three R.C.M.P. squad cars come over the hill. From then on it's strictly a Mannix (television detective serial) production . . . up against the car . . . the frisk. I told them it was my aunt's house. After they checked us for (outstanding arrest) warrants and all that, they let us go. They told us that some citizen had phoned up and said that we were breaking into houses and harassing people (Mike, Rebels M.C.).

The Vancouver City Police, in response to public pressure, have informed the local Satans Angels M.C. that they cannot fly their colours within the city limits. In effect, this is the same territorial control policy enforced by the Rebels on the upstart Highway Kings; that is to say that visibility becomes the key element. "Vancouver is a heavy city. When they (Vancouver City Police) stopped Danny (Rebels M.C.), they told him: 'There's only one club in this city. That's us!'" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

When a small contingent of Rebels - Gerry, Onion, Raunch, Danny, and Whimpey - arrived in that coastal city the Vancouver City Police dramatized the point of their being the only "club in town" by exercising some territorial control:

> Nobody Waved Goodbye
> Police don't often bother to welcome tourists to the city, but made an exception Tuesday with five members of the Rebels motorcycle club from Edmonton. Since arriving in B.C. a week ago, they have been subject to police checks twelve times. Above (reference is to photograph) check on Clark Drive was the second within an hour, netting bikers three tickets for mechanical faults (The Province, August 12, 1975:1).

The five Rebels were pulled over by five police cruisers and one motorcycle unit, a total of eleven constables. The total costs in fines for tickets received during the two Vancouver shakedowns alone was three hundred dollars. Inasmuch as the above "checkstop" was the second within an hour, the Vancouver City Police were hard pressed to find any new faults; the "three tickets" mentioned in The Province article are a tribute to the penetrating expertise of the officers involved . . . not to mention their creative imagination. Whimpey got a ticket because his spare helmet had loosened from his pack and was covering part of his licence plate. Gerry gave a constable his licence, registration, and pink card as requested. The constable took a quick look at Gerry's licence, handed it back to him and said, "I can't read this!" and proceeded to write out a ticket for not having a driver's licence. The licence had obviously aged rapidly since the last inspection - one hour earlier - must have been those grimey greasy biker jeans. Danny received a summons for driving an unsafe vehicle: "a balding tire."

Underlying the more obvious aspects of harassment that become evident in the above scenario is a more subtle aspect of R.C.M.P. and police strategy. Specifically, none of the tickets are for moving violtions that can be cleared by voluntary payment of fines, i.e., sending payment of fines from Edmonton to Vancouver by mail. All of the aforementioned citations require a court appearance. The police are working on the assumption that the Rebels as outlaw bikers have neither the commitment to the norms of the establishment, nor the desire, to make a 3,600 mile round trip to appear in court to face what they consider to be "trumped up" (illegitimate) charges. If a Rebel does choose to travel to Vancouver to challenge a particularly questionable charge in court, the officer can avoid both the possible embarrassment of explaining that charge to a judge and avoid having to take time off work or holidays, by exercising his option of informing the crown prosecutor that the charges are to be dropped - usually the day or a half hour before the scheduled court appearance - and no explanation need be, or is, given. Not appearing on the other hand will result in a warrant being issued for the arrest of the Rebel charged. From the perspective of the law enforcement agencies, these outstanding arrest warrants will hopefully deter any future Rebel visits to the province of British Columbia. If the Rebels choose to re-enter the province, it will be as fugitives, and the legal enforcement agencies will have the prerogative of arresting them on now-legitimate charges. From the perspective of the outlaw, it becomes a matter of pride, resentment, and welling bitterness:

> I left this B.C. town and I held her at (limited speed to) 60 (miles per hour) eh, because this squad car was following me. He followed me for about ten miles. As it turns out, the speed limit is 55 (miles per hour) and the asshole gives me a ticket for doing 85 . . . . No, I'm not paying it. Fuck 'em! I'll take the (arrest) warrant (Onion, Rebels M.C.).

The differential treatment - harassment - accorded to the Rebels

M.C. by law enforcement agencies runs counter to the principle of cultural pluralism by denying that group the right to cultural self-determinism. The difficulty for law enforcement agencies lies in the separation of valid attempts at cultural pluralism - sociocultural autonomy - from organized intercultural deviance. Failure to make this distinction precludes the law enforcement agents from enacting the behavioural latitude necessary to respect an individual's or group's right to go against social norms in active pursuit of their subcultural-specific beliefs, lack of beliefs, or for whatever reasons they choose. They in effect fail to recognize or accommodate the fact that drifting away from society's conventions is very different from opting out of society's laws.

The Rebels M.C. like other outlaw clubs have come to expect if not bitterly accept selective law enforcement in the form of differential treatment. Members learn the deference-demeanour interplay (Goffman) that characterizes the "shakedown." A member will learn what tactics and under what conditions they can and cannot employ certain tactics in the status power play between the "policeman" as paragon of the social values they seek to enforce, and the "biker" as social outlaw. Finally, the Rebel must learn how to avoid the consequences of a confrontation with an individual whose power resources far outweigh his own. In effect, he learns how to counterplay or fight what he considers to be an "unjust" system:

> When you first get on the road (spring) for about a month, everybody is on your ass, just hot and heavy. You know, and then you need a sensible delegate to go down and talk to them. But like you say, it all starts in the (police) locker room. It's like I got picked up and this one cop (in a different squad car) says on the radio to the cop that pulled me over: "What are you trying to do, keep those Rebels broke this summer?" And the cop says: "Yeah, I'm going to do my best." And I just told him, I told him straight, I said: 'You're a prick!' I said: "There's no doubt in my mind whatsoever, you're a prick!" And he couldn't say nothing to me

> because it was just him and I; and if he wanted to get smart I could get just as smart as him. He said: "Well, why do you say that?" I said: 'Because you're hassling me about picky-ass bullshit stuff that you don't really give a fuck about; but you just want to be a prick!' Like I was riding baffle drag pipes; my bike was quiet; I got a thirty dollar ticket for loud mufflers, and I told him: "You're a prick!" But you know what he can do if it's just you and him - he can't prove sweet fuck all. When there's two cops, I don't say nothing, I just take my ticket and go straight home. But if there's only one cop and he's a prick, I'll tell him so. But I told that guy: 'I hope you have lots of time for holidays!' and he said: "Why?" And I said: 'Because I'm going to be an asshole, plead not guilty, and take you to court and delay the proceedings till I'm sure the date comes on your holidays.' I talked with the Crown Prosecutor, and the charge was dropped. Same as I was charged twice for driving while under suspension (loss of licence due to accumulated demerit points). I got out of it both times . . . inadequate attempts to contact me in regards to my licence being suspended . . . I never sign for or accept a registered letter . . . .
>
> Yeah, that's maybe what the club should do, use a fucking club lawyer all the time. But the trouble is most of the guys in the club don't have the phenomenal fees that a lawyer wants to handle cases to fight helmet tickets, and muffler tickets and speeding tickets that are all of the bullshit variety. And that's also a heads-you-win, tails-I-lose scene. If I want someone in court with me to fight a fucking charge, it's going to cost me $250. to fight a $50. speeding ticket. You beat it and you're out $200. (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

The process of group polarization that results from differential treatment - harassment - is further intensified when the converse dimension of selective law enforcement - preferential treatment - is applied to socially accepted groups. To outlaw bikers the establishment is not limited to being merely rigid and unjust; it is also hypocritical as the purveyors of society's conventions are allowed to break society's laws: The following is an interdepartmental memorandum issued by Inspector W.B. Ross (Edmonton City Police) on June 6, 1977:

> Date 6 June, 1977
>
> MEMORANDUM
>
> To: Gaol Sergeants
> From: Inspector W.B. Ross i/c Court & Gaol Division
> Re: Shrine Convention - 9th, 10th and 11 June, 1977
> 601 1490
>
> ....
>
> On the 9th, 10th and 11 of June 77, the Al Azhar Temple of the Edmonton Shrine Club, will be hosting the Pacific West Shrine Ceremonial.

> This convention will attract 2,500 - 3,000 Shriners and their wives, most of them from the Pacific Northwest U.S.A.
>
> With this number of 'conventioneers' in town, bent on having a good time, misunderstandings may occur and the Police may have to be called in to settle misunderstandings or to keep the peace.
>
> The Shrine organization have their own Provost Corps and the Corps will have their Office/Control Room manned on a twenty-four hour basis in the Edmonton Plaza Hotel. Members of the Corps are prepared to respond on request to assist Shriners and their family, or to intercede on their behalf.
>
> I am sure that our own 'Street' members will be settling any incidents they are called to, as quietly as possible; if, however, it is necessary for any of these persons to be arrested take advantage of the Shrine Provost Corps from the Plaza Hotel.
>
> In the event that any of the U.S.A. citizens are charged with a serious criminal offence, remember the Departmental Policy relative to notifying the American Consulate in Calgary.
>
> W.B. Ross, Inspector

At best - considering only the overt contents and source - the memo issued by police inspector W.B. Ross constitutes formalized preferential treatment: "I'm sure that our 'Street' members will be settling any incidents they are called to as quietly as possible" or ". . . take advantage of the Shrine Provost Corps." At worst - considering how a constable would interpret instructions of such a nature from an inspector - the memo implies that city policemen turn their heads the other way to "misunderstandings" (semantic nicety for crime?) arising from Shriners "bent on having a good time," and if any Shriners do get out of hand, leave it to their own Provost Corps to cover up. At the very worst - considering facts and figures provided by the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce and the Edmonton Convention Bureau - one could speculate that the Shriners aren't given this preferential treatment for nothing, they indirectly pay for it:

> Ceremonial Termed Success
> Shriners Invade City - In Style
>
> By conservative estimates the Pacific Northwest Shrine Ceremonial held at the weekend pumped more than $1.25 million into the city's economy.
>
> About 6,000 Shriners and guests came to the city and, according to figures provided by the Edmonton Convention Bureau, spent at least $200 each (Bakogeorge, in Edmonton Journal, 1977:15).

This writer discussed various aspects of the above instance of selective legal enforcement with some members of the Rebels M.C. After a few beers it was decided that the club would also vie for preferential treatment by designing and carrying a spare set of club colours. The club logo would feature a fat American tourist in Bermuda shorts and a Shriner red fez with $200 in his hand. The rockers would read: 'Sons of the Shriners M.C.'

The essence of a motorcycle is ease of mobility . . . "two wheeled freedom." It is this essence which allows the motorcycle to act as the instrumental means for actualizing the Rebel affinity towards the romantic role of outlaw. The fulfillment of the freedom-creative ethic is personified by the ability to mount one's iron-lunged horse when the urge arrives and ride into the sunset. Late one evening after a heavy drinking session at the clubhouse, Caveman and Tiny decided that it was a fine summer night for chasing the wind. They decided to "putt" to Saskatoon, Saskatchewan - three hundred and eighty-five miles away - and visit the Spokesmen M.C. Caveman was a little short of funds for gas; however, he did remember that Raunch had just been paid. At four in the morning, Caveman and Tiny arrived at the house where Raunch, Crash, and Snake were living. Caveman didn't have a key and he didn't want to jeopardize Raunch's public relations with the neighbours by engaging in a lot of door pounding, so he simply broke in - for some it's an art. Caveman wasn't sure as to which bedroom to go to so he just crawled along the floor calling for Raunch. As he crawled into one of the wrong bedrooms, Snake's old lady jumped and yelled. Snake got up, took a look at the intruder and said: "It's okay, it's only Caveman. He'll probably go away, maybe he's lost." When Caveman finally managed to find Raunch's bedroom, he found himself staring at the wrong end of Raunch's 12-gauge shotgun: "Holy fuck Raunch! I only wanted to borrow a few bucks, not steal your fucking virginity!" Raunch gave Caveman several bills and said: "Okay, now go crawl back with the roof rats, I'm tired." Caveman and Tiny found the Yellowhead Highway, laid back on their hogs, and began the ride to Saskatoon . . . a red sun began to rise.

When the first of April finally rolls around, every biker undergoes a similar experience. With nervous anticipation he pushes his Harley out of the garage. He methodically straddles the machine, turns the tank valve to open the gas line, inserts and turns the key, and twists the throttle to prime the carburetor. He then lifts himself off the seat and throws his weight down, kicking the kick starter pedal in a backward arc. The machine sputters, shakes, bursts into roaring life, then slowly settles into a deep-throated rumble. The latent power reverbrates through his arms and legs. He depresses the clutch level and kicks it into gear. He slowly lets the clutch disengage and feels a flood of sensations as he and seven hundred and fifty pounds of throbbing "hog iron" move out into the wind. The machine conveys strength through the control of power. The exercise of control over power is freedom. To the experienced biker, the motorcycle becomes an instrument capable of expressing the full spectrum of his emotional self from the anger of frustration - jamming till the wind begins to howl - to the tranquility of lonely introspection - losing oneself in the constant sensations of steady movement and constant rumbling. It is this psychic connection that underlies the close personal relationship between outlaw and machine that non-bikers cannot appreciate. It is a relationship that cannot be justifiably described only experienced, an experience that the outlaw shares with his brothers alone. It is in this context that the Harley becomes a "totem animal" in that it sets up a contrast between Rebels and citizens that reinforces in-group identification. A time to find some brothers, a time for racing in the streets.

Conclusion

The motorcycle is the master symbol of an outlaw biker's lifestyle. In effect, the motorcycle becomes a mechanical medium of achieving a mental phenomenon: identity. Identity is achieved by virtue of the fact that man and machine become part of an interacting system. For members of the outlaw motorcycle subculture, the authenticity of the "biker" identity depends upon the extent to which an individual assumes total responsibility for the functioning of the man-machine system. The dimensions of responsibility include (i) design - ranging from mechanical considerations of length of front end extension and type of carburetor, to aesthetic features such as body moulding and colour of the seat upholstery; (ii) construction - raking, the fitting of engine to frame, wiring, installing brake and clutch systems, etc.; (iii) maintenance - adjusting the valves and drive chains, changing the oil, setting the timing, etc.; and ultimately, (iv) performance - the execution of riding skill.

The individual is immediately accountable to the system he has created and receives continual feedback on the quality of his overall performance. Participation in this system leads to the generation of certain peak experiences varying from the tranquility that takes hold as the mind becomes one with what the body is doing - body and mind are at one with the experience - in the fluidity of effortless effort, to the exhilaration that comes with a conscious control of energy - power, speed, and thunder - while "reaching for the edge." The generation of these peak experiences - experiences that the outlaw shares with his brothers alone - establishes the foundation of the contrast between "biker" and "citizen" that reinforces in-group identification.

Just as the motorcycle is the master symbol of an outlaw biker's lifestyle, the run becomes the master trait of an outlaw motorcycle club's functioning. Club runs mark pivotal points in the group experience, from mandatory runs announcing the beginning and end of riding season, to initiation and funeral runs. The run is the group activity that most effectively achieves and explicitly portrays the outlaw biker identity. From the midst of largely hedonic values and themes - from collective risk taking to the freedom of mobility - an anti-hero image emerges whose existential credibility relies heavily on distinguishing itself from its antithesis: the citizen. The differential treatment - "harassment" - that is accorded outlaw clubs by law enforcement reinforces group polarization. For outlaw bikers, the pursuit of what they consider to be legitimate, albeit subcultural, goals, becomes an act of defiance - their freedom ethic.

Chapter 15

THE CLUB BAR: THE MAINTENANCE OF A BUFFER ZONE BETWEEN CONFLICTING CULTURES

Several years of street ethnography have indicated that outlaw motorcycle clubs attract a variety of individuals with differing needs and abilities. This variation is forged into a viable organization by the requirement of total commitment to a lifestyle which differentiates the group structurally and emotionally from the host society. This solution for the need for identity, however, places contradictory demands on the group: on the one hand, the group can defend its integrity only by maintaining clear boundaries between itself and the host society; on the other hand, the group is a voluntary association which can perpetuate itself only by crossing these same boundaries to solicit members from the host society.

The answer to this dilemma is the club bar. The club bar is located in a public hotel and thus exposes the club's otherwise closed social network to possible contact with the public; here potential novitiates can exhibit their prowess, demonstrate commitment to the subculture's ideals, experiment with and perhaps form lasting ties with the club. The club bar thus functions as a buffer zone or point of cultural interface between the club and the host society. Recruiting new members requires a performance which is dramatic enough to attract potential "strikers"; however, club members in the bar must continually

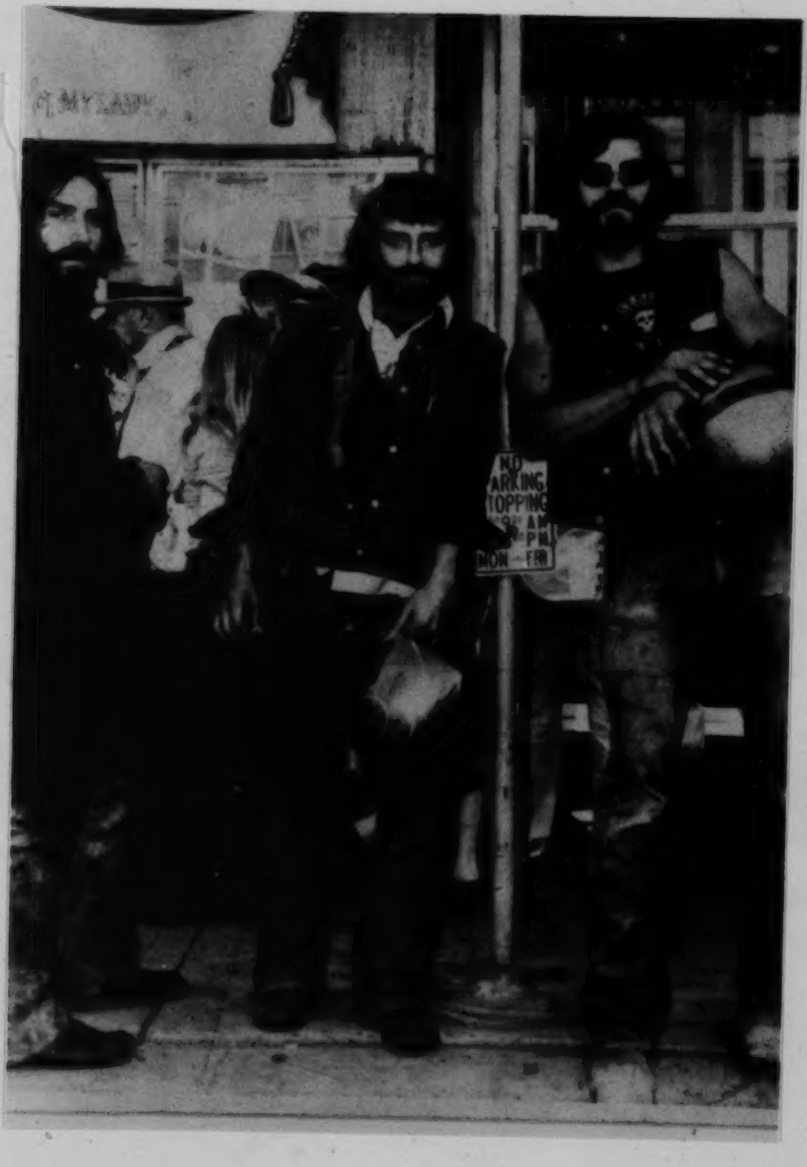

Plate 13. Members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club outside the club bar.

negotiate their presence and behavioural style in terms of highly unpredictable and often hostile external variables. Carrying this off taxes the varied abilities of club members; and may, in fact, aggrevate differences in opinion concerning the desirability of trafficking with "citizens." Thus, a new problem is generated: diverse attitudes and varied talents facilitate adaptive flexibility and are therefore an asset to the group; at the same time, however, the full recognition of this diversity on the part of its members may disrupt the image they have of themselves as a small, tightly-knit group. The problem is one of achieving a balance between the structural requirement for heterogeneity and the psychological need for perceived homogeneity. Participation by group members in "collective symbolism" is introduced, in this thesis, as a mechanism whereby the disruptive effects of perceived variation are minimized.

The Club Bar

An integral part of outlaw motorcycle club tradition is the establishment of a tavern as a regular drinking spot and rendezvous point for club members: the "club bar." The club bar complements the "clubhouse," the locus of formal club functions and social activities, by providing an alternative focal point for informal group gatherings. While the clubhouse is the private domain of the Rebels M.C., the club bar is found in a public hotel. It is this aspect of contact with the public that allows the club bar to serve a number of unique functions in terms of the club and its members.

The club bar enables the club to maintain a network of "friends of the club." These are bikers who have no official club affiliation and who may have no intentions of ever striking for the club, yet have formed friendship ties with any number of the members. As a result, these friends of the club are occasionally invited to attend club parties, runs, and related club activities. The club bar provides a place where these friendship bonds can be maintained and nurtured in terms of drinking together, talking about motorcycles, the exchange of bike parts, etc. The club bar is more accessible to friends of the club than the clubhouse, where attendance requires both invitation and escort by a club member (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules). The accessibility of the club bar thus allows the nucleus of Rebel club members to surround itself with a mutual support group whose respective resources, from information on carburetor systems to physical self-defence, they can readily draw upon. The most vital resources that the Rebels M.C. procures by allowing a subculture of non-affiliated motorcyclists to crystallize around it is new members.

Becoming a member of an outlaw motorcycle club involves the processes of selection, socialization, and ritualized incorporation. If an individual has the minimal qualities of being a biker, he is in a position to make contact with the club. Unlike most formal voluntary organizations, a high degree of interpersonal compatibility precedes and is a prerequisite to establishing any form of organizational ties with the Rebels M.C. The club bar constitutes neutral ground on which the performance of possible candidates can be evaluated with respect to their potential as strikers.

By establishing a club bar, the Rebels M.C. circumscribes another area of members' behaviour within the sphere of club influence. Rather than going out to the bar being an entirely personal activity, it is placed within a club context. The people one associates with, the activities one engages in, and the manner in which those activities are performed, will be in terms of one's being a Rebel. In return, the performance of those activities and the identity they symbolize is confirmed by the reactions of the general public present. The club bar not only assists the members in the public articulation of themselves as Rebels but further encapsulates them in the social network of the motorcycle club subculture. These interpersonal social boundaries are maintained on the one hand by screening the communication (infiltration) of non-biker values and by preventing the formation of non-biker, if not non-club, social ties:

> . . . the way it is now, people stay away from us because they're scared. They stay clear of us and that's what we want. Now if we were friendly with everybody, and bought everybody beer, and invited everybody to come and have a good time . . . they would try and do their best to take advantage of the situation. They'd just feel as though if they seen an empty chair at our table in the bar, they could just sit down and start drinking beer off the table: 'Well, that's okay, one of the boy's sort of thing.' If some hippy is sitting at the table, that I don't know, and if he's sitting beside one of my brothers, I'll go up to my brother and say: "Well, who is this guy? I don't know him!" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

If the "unknown" individual proves not to be of the biker cult, an interaction of the following nature is likely to occur:

Killer (Rebels M.C.):	Hey Snake, what kind of bike does your friend ride?
Snake (Rebels M.C.):	He doesn't. He's a close friend of mine. He just plays the guitar.
Danny (Rebels M.C.):	We don't give a shit! There's no room for him. Tell him to get lost!

In an outlaw motorcycle club, great emphasis is placed on members "being around," or "hanging out." The aspect of their physical presence in itself reinforces the reality of the informal social network that binds members together. This social network (ties of "brotherhood") is composed of social obligations that extend beyond the boundaries of formal club participation. However, individuals often find themselves unable to participate in the club's principal or focal activity: riding motorcycles. In the past, this incapacitation has been brought about primarily through physical injury or loss of driver's licence. Under such circumstances, drinking at the club bar allows these individuals to fulfill the social obligations of "being with one's brothers" in spite of their handicap. A case in point was that of Clayton. In October, Clayton was squeezing in some late season riding before the coming of snow. He was run over by a drunken driver who had ignored both Clayton and a stop sign. Luckily, Clayton was himself thrown clear of the accident. The impact broke Clayton's leg in two places. Hitting the pavement displaced vertebrae in his spinal column. The tools he was carrying in his pockets tore holes in his leathers as he slid across the pavement. Finally, Clayton's arm was broken as he came to rest against a utility pole.

Three weeks later, Clayton was released from hospital and was able to hobble around on crutches. One of the first places he hobbled to was the Kingsway Motor Inn, the club bar at the time. After arranging his assorted casts and crutches in a half-decently comfortable fashion, Clayton began to make up for lost time. Later on in the evening, Gerry, the newest member to receive his colours (become a member), decided to see how well Clayton, a man of finese with a motorcycle, could handle himself on crutches. Unnoticed, Gerry modified the adjustments on one of the crutches to make it three inches shorter than the other. At about the same time, a couple of members who were playing pool, decided that the Kingsway pool cues were of finer quality than those they had back at the clubhouse and that didn't seem "very righteous." Two of the members, pool cues in hand, sauntered down to the tables where the Rebels were seated to arrange transportation for what they hoped would be the clubhouse's most recent additions. All of this hadn't gone completely unnoticed by the hotel bouncers, however, and they began to move in. One pool cue was handed to Whimpy, the other to Clayton. Clayton immediately shoved the pool cue down his pants and zipped up his jacket over the top half. Whimpy wasn't quick enough, however, and he turned as the bouncers approached the tables to give them the pool cue along with a big grin:

Bouncer:	You don't have any more, do you?
Whimpy (Rebels M.C.):	Aw, come on. We're not greedy!
Bouncer:	Well, okay.

While the bouncers were being distracted, Clayton picked up his crutches and was about to leave with the clubhouse's newest prize. Clayton, however, failed to notice that Gerry had shortened one of his crutches. The moment he put weight on the crutches, the pool cue shot through his jacket and jabbed him in the neck. There was a roar of laughter and approval as Clayton hobbled along making his getaway, one leg in a cast, one arm in a cast, the other arm negotiating a shortened crutch, a pool cue down his pants, a back brace, and twenty draft beer to act as ballast.

During the months from November through to March, the club bar serves a function, parallel to the one mentioned above, for the entire club. Winter snows silence the Harleys, and drinking at the bar becomes one of the few remaining activities that members can participate in as a collective unit. These aspects of physical proximity and social interaction are of vital importance when examining the overall maintenance of those urban subcultures whose membership is based upon voluntary association. Features of the Rebels M.C., characteristic of outlaw motorcycle club subcultures in general, make them a case in point. Initially, we are dealing with a group in which membership is based on achievement as opposed to ascription: one chooses to be a biker, learns how to be a brother, and earns one's right to wear a club's colours. Secondly, recruitment of membership is not conducted on a once-and-for-all basis; having earned his colours a member must "live his colours." Finally, membership is never permanent. Members realize the risk and commitment that are required to maintain the intense and exclusive borders of an outlaw motorcycle club; and although it is not a topic of light conversation, members are keenly aware of the fact that bikers never last forever. With respect to the risks inherent to this life-style, vehicle accidents alone disabled three members of the Rebels M.C. over the course of one summer. In Easyriders, a magazine dedicated to the "excitement and freedom of biking," as typified by the outlaw elite, a "Tribute to Brothers Lost" obituary column appears monthly:

> To my brother Roy. You rode hard and died fast. Exile by profession. Angel by desire. Brother Piper and Shady.
>
> In memory of Tommy Douglas, a hard riding, fast living bro (brother) who was murdered in the prime of life. From Larry and Gary Douglas, and all his Bandido Brothers.
>
> In memory of Colonel, a Road Baron Nomad snuffed (killed) by a chickenshit cager (car driver) who didn't even have guts enough to stop and help. We'll miss ya, bro. Road Barons M.C.
>
> To Brother Mac. Three sleazy no-good bastards dusted (killed) you with pieces (hand guns), but you went down hard (not an easy kill). Your bros. Frisco Bob and Winton Scotty.
>
> In memory of Towanda Rick, a member of the Grim Reapers M.C. A bro who still rides with us through the darkness (Easyriders, 1977, 7(53), 70).

Regarding the aspect of commitment, it is expected that the bonds of brotherhood and club will take precedence over all other social obligations: "Like if my old lady came up to me and gave me an ultimatum between her and the club, I guess I'd say, 'Well, I guess it'll have to be the club'." (Caveman, Rebels M.C.). "A choice between the two (present job or being a Rebel)? The job would definitely go by the boards. I'd say, 'Shove it up your ass! I'll be a Rebel'." (Steve, Rebels M.C.). "The club comes first and that's the way it is. It has to be that way!" (Blues, Rebels M.C.). These factors of risk and commitment are reflected in the core ideology of the club which demands continued expression and validation of the group's integrity as a social unit by "being with one's brothers."

The club bar furthermore provides a locality where out-of-town bikers can get in touch with the club. For example, two members of Les Gitans (Gypsies) M.C. from Sherbrooke, Quebec, who were passing through Edmonton, procured the name of the club bar from a local biker they met in Klatt's Harley-Davidson shop. At the bar, they were shown biker hospitality: "sipping cool ones," "smoking rolled ones," an "invitation to party," and "a place to crash." Members of clubs that have established close relations with the Rebels such as the Bounty Hunters M.C. of Victoria will phone the president of the Rebels and arrange beforehand to meet at the clubhouse. Lesser or unknown patch holders (members) of other clubs have to follow the indirect route of making contact and establishing ties with the Rebels at the club bar. In these types of situations, the club bar allowed members to decide upon and enact appropriate diplomatic protocol. This was the case of Ace, president of the Chosen Few M.C. of Calgary. Ace contacted and drank with the Rebels at the Kingsway Inn - the Rebels' club bar at the time - but was never given an invitation to come to the clubhouse. The underlying reason for this restrained hospitality was that the Chosen Few M.C. are quiet rivals of the Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary, a club with which the Rebels have very close ties.

In order to utilize a public inn as a club bar, a working arrangement has to be established between the club and the hotel. The issue of whether such a mutual agreement is possible is initially decided by the hotel's management. The decision can be conveyed as subtlely as management not saying anything when a member or number of members come to "check the bar out," a silence which is interpreted as a positive sign; or, on the other hand, the members may be asked to leave. Features that members look for and that are characteristic of hotel inns that the Rebels adopt as club bars are: a large seating capacity usually exceeding two hundred people; live entertainment in the form of rock bands; facilities for playing pool and assorted electronic game tables; and a "young people's" bar with a clientel that includes young single females. The decision on the part of management as to whether to accommodate the Rebels or not is made in terms of the clientel the hotel wants to cater to in general and the reputation of the club in particular:

> A couple of us (Rebels) went to check out the Inn on Whyte (a new bar catering to university students). They told us that we could drink there tonight, but not after that, because they didn't want their bar wrecked (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

On the other hand, the converse situation may arise, as was the case with the Corona Hotel, where management actively patronized the Rebels. This action was not a matter of soliciting business; rather, it was a manoeuver on the part of management in an attempt to change its present clientel. Specifically, the Corona's clientel included dope pushers, junkies, prostitutes, and heavy-handed individuals whose idea of an evening's entertainment was a barroom brawl. As a result of the activities of this volatile clientel - excessive drunkenness, disorderliness, assaults, stabbings, overdoeses, etc. - the Alberta Liquor Control Board was beginning to make a regular habit of shutting down the hotel's beverage services. Based on past experience of the Rebels at the Corona, management felt that the presence of the Rebels M.C. would alleviate the situation.

> When we (Rebels) went into the (Corona) bar, we bought a round of beer and then they (management) gave us free beer for the rest of the night, eh. I think they want us to drink there and get rid of the junkies (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

> Yeah, they want to get rid of the junkies. Junkies, dope pushers, and a lot of the hippie crowd don't like us. Junkies don't like to be around us because we'll pound the shit out of them. Junkies know what we think of them. We seen a guy shooting up smack and we bust the needle off in his arm. We just do it. We don't like junk. So when we come around, they clear out (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The ironic aspect of the Rebels' dislike of junkies is that some of the local dealers or pushers (middlemen of the drug trafficking trade), would use the Rebels' knowledge of the R.C.M.P. undercover narcotics personnel to their own advantage. Specifically, dealers were able to conduct their business with relative immunity by sitting discreetly near Rebels' tables. The rationale underlying this strategy is that if narcotics officers were in the immediate vicinity, their presence would likely be detected and publicly announced by the Rebels. That the Rebels had a good idea of who the narcotics officers in the Edmonton area were was demonstrated to the author while drinking in the Executive House bar.

> Armand (Rebels M.C.): Hey, Coyote!
>
> Author: What are you up to, Armand?
>
> Armand (Rebels M.C.): Well, you see those four guys sitting over there at that table? Well, the chubby older guy and the younger dude with the long black hair are narcs. That other dude I'm pretty sure of . . . maybe . . . yeah, I'm pretty sure the three of them are narcs.

Author:	What about number four?
Armand (Rebels M.C.):	Stick around, there may be something coming down.

Not more than five minutes after Armand had said this to the author, the three persons he picked out jumped the fourth person sitting at the table. They pinned their suspect to the floor, one holding his legs, one putting a knee on his neck, while the third applied the handcuffs. During the scuffle, Jim (Rebels M.C.), who was working part-time as a bouncer, rushed in, grabbed one of the narcotics officers by the neck, and was about to drop him with a punch when the guy shouted, "R.C.M.P.!!"

Armand (Rebels M.C.):	The trick is to deck a narc before he can show you his fuckin' I.D. (identification). Jim was just a little slow. He must be getting old, eh? Ha, ha!

The fellow who was being "busted" (arrested) was becoming frantic and putting up quite a fuss, yelling and screaming: "What's going on? What have I done!?" The narcotics officers in this instance were quite efficient and silenced their captive with a well-placed reverse punch to the solar plexus. This particular martial arts blow is capable of incapacitating (dewinding) most individuals; and, not unimportantly, it leaves no telltale marks or bruises. They then grabbed him by the hair and dragged him up the stairs and out of the bar.

Armand (Rebels M.C.):	You see! What did I tell you? Fucking narcs! I wish they would try that with us!
Saint (Rebels M.C.):	They wouldn't. They know better than that.

Armand later explained that they knew this particular group of narcotics officers from the Kingsway Inn.

> They were drinking with us. There were five of them at tables around us. We started choruses of "1, 2, 3, I smell the stench of the RCMP." Shultz and a couple of the guys started grunting and oinking, you know, "Pig, pig" (Armand, Rebels M.C.).

Most outlaw clubs have various adaptive strategies that they will employ if a member finds himself in a situation parallel to the one described above. For example, one narcotics officer who didn't "know better," attempted to arrest a member of the Satans Angels M.C. of Vancouver at a public bar dance, during the Peach Bowl Festival held in Penticton, British Columbia. The club member was watching the band while smoking a roach (a small roll of finely cut marijuana enclosed in a thin cigarette paper). The officer presented his identification, confiscated the roach, and made the arrest. However, other Satans Angels standing nearby had observed what was happening. They reacted by starting a fight amongst themselves in which they made sure innocent bystanders became involved; in particular, the narcotics agent. During the fracas, the arrestee made good his escape and the police officer was hospitalized after being thrown out the doors:

> A Penticton policeman was injured when assaulted outside the Peach Bowl Saturday evening . . . . Cpl. William G. Andrews . . . two persons were to appear in Penticton court on charges related to the incident. One is charged with assault causing bodily harm, the other with causing a disturbance (Penticton Herald, May 22, 1973).

With respect to disorderliness, the Rebels have a ruling of non-involvement in barroom altercations (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules):

> They (management) don't mind us coming in there at all. We drink a lot of beer you know, it's good for them. I mean, we don't go around bothering everybody. It's the last thing we need, because if the fucking heat (police intervention) comes down, it comes down on us, no questions asked. We sit in that one corner by ourselves and drink beer (Shultz, Rebels M.C.).

It was observed that most barroom brawlers were intimidated by the Rebels' presence; and would, at the very least, conduct their disputes in another area of the bar. In this sense, the Rebels would sometimes stabilize potentially volatile situations. If members did become involved in a dispute, it was standard policy to try to settle it without violence; or if violence was required, as quickly and inconspicuously as possible. Solutions to conflicts were inconspicuous in the sense of attempting to avoid a fight inside the bar that would land up in the bouncers' and/or management's lap:

> Blues (Rebels M.C.): With the majority of bars, you know we're welcome back any time we want.
>
> Author: Why do you ~~think~~ they'd do that?
>
> Blues (Rebels M.C.): Well, because most of them have experienced us. They know what we're all about. We bring them a lot of good business as well, and we help keep things in line.
>
> Author: Do you ever help in controlling the bars?
>
> Blues (Rebels M.C.): Many a time.
>
> Author: As official bouncers?
>
> Blues (Rebels M.C.): Yeah. Yeah, like last night. Instead of smacking that guy in the head and then waiting for the bouncer to come and throw him out . . . I just took the whole matter outside. And I've done that on several occasions; and each and every one of my brothers has.

If the interaction between an outlaw motorcycle club and bar management continues over a period of time, it is not uncommon for the working arrangement to become predictable and personalized to the extent that mutual cooperation occurs with respect to controlling disorderliness in the bar. "There used to be a special bar we would go to. We'd classify it as our bar. We'd act as the bouncers there" (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.). The final stage in solidifying this collaboration would be the formal hiring of members as part-time bouncers; for example, the Executive House Inn hired Jim and Indian in this capacity.

Part of the working arrangement between club and management is that the responsibility of keeping the members under control is left up to the club itself. The club Sgt.-at-Arms, in particular, is faced with the task of controlling unruly members. In the absence of the Sgt.-at-Arms, the club members as a whole will take it upon themselves to exercise mutual self-restraint when they feel it is necessary. For example, after having to work all day Saturday, Jim was feeling particularly "raunchy" and became a little intimidating. He began by taking a beer tray from a waiter and throwing it at a nearby pool table, completely ruining Caveman's next shot. A few minutes later, he smashed a full beer glass against the wall. One of the members remarked: "When Jimbo starts wasting good brew to wash down the walls, you know something's up." A couple of the Rebels took notice and tried to get Jim to sit down, relax, and have a few beers. Caveman did his part and invited Jim to join him for a game of pool. Unfortunately, Jim noticed a dirty look from a guy playing pool at an adjoining table. Jim, mindful of the club's ruling on violence, waited till the patron had put down his half-empty beer glass. Then, while the fellow was taking his shot, Jim did him a 'favour' and refilled the glass by urinating into it. After filling two other glasses on the fellow's table, the portable tap service ran dry. Jim's only comment was: "Anybody who's got guts enough to give me a dirty look when I'm pissed deserves a full glass." Any of the above incidents would have brought a bouncer down on a non-Rebel. But most of the Kingsway's bouncers had gotten to know the Rebels, including their style of handling situations; and in the form of an unwritten agreement, trusted control to the discretion of the membership.

> They've been drinking here since I started bouncing at the Kingsway, over a year now. And we've got no complaints. Sure, they're rowdy sometimes, come on pretty heavy and what have you. But I've never

> seen them go out of their way looking for trouble. Most times they just sit there by the wall and drink their beer. Not like some of the crazies you get in here (Mike _____, bouncer, Kingsway Motor Inn).

Jim crossed the line, however, when he picked up a chair and was about to throw it. At this point, a couple of the members intervened, suggested that Jim leave, and he did. Jim was subsequently reported to the Sgt.-at-Arms by one of the members present at the time. A meeting of the executive board was called to hear Jim's case. Jim appeared before the board and they exchanged views about the incident. After they agreed as to what happened, the Sgt.-at-Arms applied an appropriate sanction: Jim was banned from the bar for one month. It should be kept in mind, however, that as far as the Rebels are concerned, the origin, adherance, and enforcement of these rules lies with the club, not management. For instance, Crash was barred from the Executive House Inn by management after he had used his Bowie knife to cut through the band's equipment wires: "Those guys were much too loud. We had to scream to be heard across the table. We asked them to tune it down, but they wouldn't" (Crash, Rebels M.C.). Unnoticed by those concerned, Crash returned the following evening despite his being permanently barred by management. Ken, president of the Rebels M.C., commented that ". . . if we'd barred Crash, he wouldn't be here now. But they look after their rules and we look after ours."

Hotel management reciprocates this aspect of self-control by extending special privileges to the club. At any of the club bars, it was standard procedure to by-pass lineups waiting to get into the bar with no more effort than perhaps an acknowledging glance at the bouncer controlling the lineup. This courtesy is a fairly standard practice in outlaw club-hotel management relations. For example, this ritual offering was extended to the author in Calgary at the Highlander Motor Inn when a bouncer controlling a Saturday night overflow crowd mistook the author for a member or friend of the Kings Crew M.C. He proceeded to escort the author's companion and the author past the lineup and then directed them to where the Kings Crew were seated.

Once inside the bar, the Rebels could expect an occasional free round of beer from management . . . often a free night, at the Corona. The Rebels were allowed to join tables together and to borrow chairs from tables they weren't using. This assemblage of furniture was done in order to enable the biker community to sit together as a collective unit. Certain bars, such as the Executive House Motor Inn, required bikers to check their helmets, considered potentially dangerous weapons, at the snack bar. The staff working the lunch counters would then often give them preferential service. At the Executive bar, the bouncers would frequently wander by the Rebels' tables, duck down behind the members, and chug-a-lug a beer, although it was illegal for bouncers to drink while on duty. In return for this "hidden favour," the bouncers would come by the pay-as-you-play pool tables where members were shooting pool and use their master key to give members free games. Dominique, the head bouncer at the Executive, became a good friend of the Rebels, in particular of Blues. Dominique eventually hired two of the Rebels, Jim and Indian, to work as part-time bouncers. He further offered the Rebels M.C. a private parking stall, safe in the Executive's supervised underground parking lot. The Rebels declined on the grounds that they like to have their machines visible, nearby, and accessible. Driving into an underground parking lot seemed like "a bit of a hassle." Perhaps the bottom line of this decision was that such a move would have been out of character for an outlaw motorcycle club whose policy it was, and whose members preferred, to face adversaries rather than avoid them.

The Rebels parked their motorcycles in a group outside the bar. On a regular basis members would leave the table to check the motorcycles in order to prevent vandalism. All members have had their motorcycles tampered with, in one manner or another, while they have been drinking in a bar. This tampering can range from a drunk trying to climb on a chopper and having the machine topple over to vandalism such as removing spark plug wires, loosening brake cables, etc. Such happenings, however, do not occur all that frequently, and although strikers could be stationed outside on a permanent basis, members prefer to make their own bike checks. These bike checks afford a member with an opportunity to escape the sometimes oppressive nature of the intense drinking, noise, and smoke of the bar. He can grab a breath of fresh air, perhaps have a quiet conversation with another member, compare his own motorcycle with those of other members, and make plans and draw mental sketches of the work and improvements of his machine that inevitably begin every fall and help pass the winter months. However, if a motorcycle club becomes too lax in its surveillance, the results can be damaging. Such was the case on a warm July evening when a number of the Rebels decided to have a drink at the Executive bar after the regular Wednesday night meeting. That evening, the author decided to leave the bar early, at about 12:15 a.m. Outside the bar, the author talked to Onion for about five minutes about an upcoming run and proceeded to take a picture of the lineup of motorcycles. They had no way of knowing that while the author had the bikes in the sights of his camera, someone probably had them in the sights of their rifle. But it was closing time for the Executive and groups of people began to make their way out the doors. Onion went back inside to down a final brew; and the author started his motorcycle and left, perhaps 12:25 a.m. At around 12:30 a.m., someone came running into the bar to tell the Rebels that a truck had run over their bikes. What the Rebels found were eight smashed motorcycles, three of which were jammed under the tires of a four-wheel drive truck:

> Eight motorcycles, each valued at between $3,500 and $4,000 were damaged . . . . Witnesses to the incident said a truck struck the bikes outside the Executive House . . . . They said two men fled the scene after the truck got caught up in one of the bikes and couldn't move (Edmonton Journal, July 16, 1975).

On top of Jim's motorcycle lay a rifle that one of the men had dropped while abandoning the truck.

> The fire trucks were there right away, even before the cops. They washed down all the gasoline and oil. Some of the bikes were shorting out. And if those sparks had ignited the gas, well, that would have been it (Jim, Rebels M.C.).

With respect to ascertaining the cause of the incident, apparently two barroom patrons had been beaten up by a biker, of no club affiliation, but who happened to be in the same bar the Rebels were. "When we catch them, we'll lay their legs over a curb and run over them with a bike to let them know how the bikes felt" (Killer, Rebels M.C.). As far as leaving this sort of settlement, or retribution if you will, in the hands of the law is concerned, outlaw bikers are largely on their own. Thus, when Caveman asked one of the investigating officers if they could trace the truck, he replied: "I don't give a fuck!" (Investigating officer, Edmonton City Police, as quoted by Caveman, Rebels M.C.). Members of the Rebels M.C. realize that when you wear the colours of an outlaw motorcycle club, the cops have no use for you and they expect the same.

Going to the bar and having a good time with one's brothers includes drinking, smoking, and eating together; joking and jostling with one another; exchanging information about motorcycles and biking; discussing matters related to the club in general or members in particular; general conversation; meeting new people connected with the motorcycle community; playing pool; and hustling young females. The Rebels usually join from three to five tables together and occupy a section of the bar, preferably adjacent to the pool tables. The number of members present on a given evening will vary on a daily basis. A general pattern emerges, however, as an indirect consequence of formal club activities. For example, only several members may show up on Mondays. This relative quiescence is a result of members recuperating from a weekend of "hard riding" and "partying":

> A weekend can wear you pretty thin. Sometimes we'll ride and party straight through from Friday night to Sunday morning. The only time I get to relax is when I'm working and Monday morning rolls around. By Friday, I'm ready to give'er again (Dale the Butcher, Rebels M.C.).

Monday evening may furthermore be used to renew acquaintances with old ladies (regular female companions whose status may vary from legal wife to girlfriend); and/or other non-club social commitments that were left behind, sacrificed, or gotten away from for the weekend. By Tuesday both the number of members and intensity of activity increases. The weekly club meetings are held every Wednesday night. These meetings are usually followed by members going for a "boogie," or ride, on their motorcycles, with destination's end inevitably being the club bar. Customarily, other members of the motorcycle community are present in addition to the Rebels themselves. This peripheral assemblage of individuals might include (biker) friends of the club; members of the motorcycle fraternity at large, i.e., "loners"; bikers or patch holders of other clubs passing through the city; some of the members' old ladies;

and unattached young females that care to "take a walk on the wild side." On occasion, the Rebels would be joined by members of the Warlords M.C., the only other outlaw club in the city of Edmonton. Thursday is "Boys' Night Out," an expression which translates into the formalized exclusion of members' old ladies, i.e., they cannot be escorted to the clubhouse, nor can they be escorted to or show up on their own at the club bar (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules). Boys' night out involves the club partying together as a unit at the clubhouse or club bar, or both. It is noteworthy that perhaps the major threat to the club with respect to members developing alternative or competitive commitments is the formation of strong bonds with old ladies. "I've seen a lot of members fall because of old ladies" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.). Boys' night out symbolically reaffirms the club as the members' primary commitment as "brothers" get together to discuss matters of importance in private. It furthermore both invites and creates opportunity for competition for the old lady social bond by introducing other females. Friday and Saturday may or may not see a full complement of Rebels at the club bar. The determining factor is whether or not the scheduled "club run" (motorcycle tour), is a one-day affair or a full weekend excursion.

The Rebels dispatch large quantities of draft beer, along with the occasional bottled beer; but hard liquor is a rarity. A member will call for contributions and those present will throw a few dollars on the table. The money is collected by a member who calls the waiter over and orders "another hundred draft." Nobody keeps track of which individuals contribute what amounts, but then no one appeared to take advantage of the system either, i.e., if an individual was short of financial resources, he could make up for it when he wasn't. The seemingly universal preference for draft beer by outlaw clubs can be related to the uninhibited libationous style of the members. Full glasses of draft are consecutively gulped down, "chug-a-lugged," by members in seconds. In the loud and boisterous setting of the club bar, the ability of a member to bolt down and hold his liquor becomes another aspect of the presentation of a machismo image by the members. It would be difficult for a member to meet the situational demands of enacting this style of role performance while sipping a martini. Food is purchased intermittently at the lunch counter, with chips (with and without ketchup), spareribs, and chicken being literally tossed around and shared. The scene as a whole is somewhat reminiscent of those consumatory rituals that groups of males have traditionally engaged in after feats of violence, aggression, or adventure.

The mood and demeanour of the Rebels while drinking at the bar, although boisterous and lively enough, differs from drinking sessions held at the clubhouse. At the bar, the drinking is more of a calculated nature; that is, while some members may become totally "wasted," others in turn will become more reserved. They assume the task of constantly surveying the bar for potentially threatening situations into which their inebriated brothers may inadvertently fall. These members personified the image of gunslingers of a bygone era, waiting for some bounty hunter to make a foolish move. The consequences of "passing out" at the clubhouse might be no more severe than being dosed with beer by a member curious to know "why you're leaving the party so early." At a public bar, on the other hand, the Rebels, for any variety of reasons, can become the target of assault:

> . . . I was so stinking drunk, Dale and my old lady carried me out of the bar . . . and this guy wanted to get it on with Shultz, and I said, "If you want Shultz, you'll have to go through me first!" I was really drunk and I didn't know what I was doing . . . you know, I was talking when I should have been listening. I took a couple of shots to the head. Then some guy grabbed me by the hair, had me down, and was choking me. I bit him in the shoulder, and then Shultz, he took over (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

Two weeks later, Shultz got Killer out of a similar predicament. Shultz took on two individuals who had jumped Killer. One had a tire iron; the other had an attack dog. Shultz, a man of speed, skill, and coordination, took the tire iron away from one attacker and used it to silence the dog of the other.

The barroom conversation of an outlaw motorcycle club is conducted against a background of motorcycles and motorcycling. The latest technical innovations in improving either the performance or appearance of one's "hog" (a Harley-Davidson motorcycle) receives top priority. These topics, and the activities implied by them, provide the Rebels with a mystique of technical know how. Members of outlaw clubs who "chop," or customize, their motorcycles are involved in the mammoth task of virtually redesigning and rebuilding the entire machine. In the bar this task gives members something to ponder and argue over; for instance, how does installing a five speed transmission unit compare with a stroker kit as far as speed and engine wear is concerned. It provides for discussions about members' experiments, for example, some of the more mechanically unconvential Rebels installed the new Phase 3 belt drive system to establish whether or not it would prove to be more efficient and dependable than the traditional primary chain. It furnishes a subject matter to philosophize about, as members debate whether the Harley-Davidson "knucklehead" of the 1930's was a superior engine to the contemporary "shovelhead." It produces helpful hints:

> Say, Coyote, you can get that same Diamond drive chain that Klatt's (Motorcycle Ltd.) sells for thirty-nine dollars at Main Line Tool and Bearing for fourteen bucks (Onion, Rebels M.C.)

as well as words of wisdom:

> Once you start extending that front end more than fourteen inches overstock, and raking the frame more than three-quarters of an inch, you begin to get handling problems. Won't bother you in a straight-a-way, but watch her on those fucking mountain roads (Ken, Rebels M.C.).

In effect, the collective knowledge represented by those seated around the tables provides an immediate reference encyclopedia for any member having any mechanical problem:

Crash (Rebels M.C.):	My bike gets this snakey feeling when I'm going into turns.
Steve (Rebels M.C.):	Check out your axles. Make sure they're tight. If that doesn't end it, then you'll probably have to fork out a couple of bucks for new wheel bearings. But before you go fucking around with all that shit, make sure you've got proper air pressure in your tires.

The technical knowledge required to engage in these conversations in an intelligent manner is symbolic in its portrayal of the participants as dedicated bikers. Just as these conversations provide a common medium of exchange between bikers, they also serve a converse function as a border marker by maintaining non-bikers as mystified outsiders.

Intermingled in this general conversation is dialogue concerning matters related specifically to either the club or the members themselves. The brotherhood ties that have emerged between members readily facilitates the discussion of personal problems that individuals may be experiencing. These personal problems might include such areas as difficulties at work, a troublesome domestic situation, or a specific source of frustration. Exerpts from some conversations carried on by members of the Warlords M.C. at the Airway Motor Inn are a case in point:

Renegade (Warlords M.C.): Look man. When I'm working on an engine and things aren't going right, I start to burn.

Ron (Warlords M.C.): You've gotta let us know. Curse at the fucking thing! Kick in a wall. But let us know. We don't know what's clicking inside of you when you get like that.

Dump (Warlords M.C.): That guy's just like a fucking live grenade.

Renegade (Warlords M.C.): Just give me a little more space and I can work things out.

Ron (Warlords M.C.): That's what we're here for!

These drinking sessions also present members with an opportunity to criticize aspects of a brother's behaviour, under amiable circumstances.

Dump (Warlords M.C.): Ron, you ride like a blind man! Looking here, looking there . . . Jesus! Watch what you're doing!

Ron (Warlords M.C.): I'm watching you guys. I don't trust anybody.

Rae (Warlords M.C.): Yeah. He likes to keep his eyes on at least eight bikes at once!

Dan (Warlords M.C.): Take it easy, Ron. What you don't see won't hurt you.

The sting of any personal criticism, however, is blunted by the overall style of conversation which might best be described as a form of light-hearted verbal jousting.

Dump (Warlords M.C.): Hey! You're getting fat. Look at this love roll!

Dan (Warlords M.C.): What do you expect when you drive a truck? The only exercise you get is farting.

At this point, Dan farted. Perhaps one could say he switched his strategy from verbal jousting to non-verbal communication, i.e., body language.

Dan (Warlords M.C.): Well! There you go. That oughta be worth twenty pushups!

Barry (Warlords M.C.): Your voice is changing, Dan, but you've still got problems with bad breath.

Ron (Warlords M.C.): He's the only guy I know that got kicked out of a bar for farting. I don't know how a guy could be so rotten and still walk.

Dump (Warlords M.C.): I'll get you (Dan) Baxter. I'll drink beer, eat Chinese food, and won't shit for a week. Then I'll dump a load on ya!

With respect to the club in general, issues pertinent to its operation are discussed. Barroom conversations thus become part of the group's informal decision-making process in that they encourage the casual exchange and evaluation of members' opinions. The establishment and maintenance of this "common head space" is of vital importance to an action-oriented group such as an outlaw motorcycle club. It affords the club a necessary degree of adaptive flexibility by allowing it to operate more in terms of a working hypothesis, based on mutual consensus, as opposed to relying solely on the enactment of formal decision-making processes such as standardized voting procedures, enforcement of formal rules, executive decisions, etc. Areas discussed vary from the performance of certain members or strikers to considering various strategies for dealing with an upstart club. Reaching a consensus on such issues in the informal atmosphere of the club bar reduces the possibility of disagreement and negative interaction when these issues are brought up and formally dealt with at club meetings. Maximizing informal discussion thus minimizes the need for formal debate and ensures a cohesive relationship between formal and informal decision-making processes. In this manner, the club bar helps ensure that the "brotherhood" - members and their personal norms and values - remains relevant if not primordial to the operation of the club. Conversely, the provision for personal participation in political decision-making processes, i.e., the opportunity to innovate, evaluate, and control group policies, induces personal identification and commitment to the club on the part of the members.

Despite the privileges purveyed by management to the members in particular and club functions served by the bar in general, not all the Rebels evaluate their presence there in a positive sense: "They give us privileges and what not, which is bad in a way because our people start spending too much time in the bar" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.). Some members, such as Blues and Terrible Tom, boycotted the bar. Terrible Tom showed up at the club bar only once over a period of three years, the reason being to defend his brothers in a major confrontation with soldiers from the Canadian Airborne Regiment. Blues periodically avoided the club bar while actively lobbying against attendance there. On one occasion, this lobbying procedure led to a heated argument when Blues suggested certain members change their colours (club emblems) to read: "Corona M.C." Finally, the presence of members at the bar had been an issue of formal debate at club meetings:

> There are a few (members) that don't care for bars themselves. They don't like going to bars . . . . We don't blame them cause you can't talk to nobody in them. The damn music is so loud . . . . It's been brought up at club meetings lots of times, trying to get out of the bar, you know. But you can't do it. Let's face it! You've got (approximately) thirty guys and a lot of guys, including myself, want to go (Shultz, Rebels M.C.).

Before examining the rationale underlying this disparate attitude towards club bars, it is important to reiterate that some form of public contact, however limited, is necessary. The necessity arises from the fact that the Rebels M.C. is neither an economically self-sufficient nor a socially self-perpetuating unit. These reasons alone would preclude self-containment. Like all urban subcultures, the Rebels M.C. must ultimately rely on the organization and resources of the surrounding society. Thus, the only means by which the Rebels can actualize their ideology as an egalitarian, undifferentiated society is through the stratification and differentiation of the host community.

There are, of course, obvious risks involved in presenting oneself as an outlaw biker in a barroom setting. Yet risk situations, in particular the ability to cope, are an applauded attribute of the outlaw biker image and a common enough facet of their everyday lifestyle. However, aside from the risks involved, the negative sentiments expressed by some members can be viewed as reflecting two separate aspects of group dynamics that are endemic to urban subcultures. The first of these concerns the preservation of organizational integrity: "It's our own society." The maintenance of this organizational integrity requires the establishment of social structural boundaries between "straight society" and the club on institutional, interpersonal, and personal-value levels of participation. With respect to the preservation of these social structural boundaries, some members reasoned that increased interaction with the public would weaken the club as an integral unit by making it amorphous to outside influence. "I'd just as soon see no contact with them (the public). I don't care what they think of us. The more contact you have with them, the looser you are" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.). The second concern involves maintaining an operational balance between vested group interests and the psychological needs of individual members. The danger here lies in individuals using the group as a reference in constructing their personal identity, i.e., being a Rebel, yet failing to dedicate oneself and one's resources totally to the group, the brotherhood.

> Some of the members . . . mingle with the outside, with the citizens, more than they should. In the sense that they should be with their brothers. They should be learning what their brothers are all about, because they haven't learned that yet (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

These members may still enact behaviour whose manifest function is the affirmation of social borders; but the underlying rationale or motivation for such action is perceived by other members as being personal in nature and lying outside group interests, i.e., the approbation or reaction of outsiders:

Blues (Rebels M.C.):	They've still got a lot of citizens' or society's ways of thinking embedded in their background . . . they're trying to impress . . . by trying to be a little bit heavier than they are. This all falls back to when I said some members try to use the club to their personal advantage, or for their personal gain.
Author:	So what they do is take this stereotype that the public has of bikers, carry it into the club with them, then say "Okay, now that I've got my colours, I am this stereotype," before they've even found out what the club is all about.
Blues (Rebels M.C.):	That's right. And that's where you'll lose a lot of the members . . . when they realize the club doesn't allow this, this phoney impression that they're giving off. You know, like they have to be themselves or they don't bother being around.

Blues, in effect, feels that a minority of temporary members differ in terms of the individual goals (projecting "heavy images") that they attempt to achieve through group actions (being a Rebel). Ken, president of the Rebels M.C., voiced similar negative sentiments with respect to drinking at bars. He furthermore felt that such "performances" were the result of a few members wanting to portray an outlaw image:

Ken (Rebels M.C.):	I would think there are a few people in the club that would think that we are an outlaw club, and we should be, we should perform for the public in some ways. Personally, I don't feel that that's necessary. I feel that we have a good enough name (reputation) that we don't have to show anybody our stuff.
Author:	In what ways would a club show their stuff?
Ken (Rebels M.C.):	In the bar is the best example. The bar is the worst place for a motorcycle club, I think. Because there's too many people there. Whereas if one person is performing and no one in the club is watching him, well there are usually twenty other people who are. By performing? Well, throwing beer or trays around, or ah, even being good at something, for example, being sharp at playing pool. It's performing. It's being different from anybody else sitting at the bar.

Ken, in effect, is of the opinion that a minority of members vary in their perception of the group's goals (an outlaw club).

The Rebels M.C. face the problem of having to maintain group boundaries in order to solidify the brotherhood yet having to cross those borders in order to recruit new members. That is, while group solidarity requires border maintenance, group perpetuity necessitates border crossing. The solution, insofar as neither of these two group requisites are to be denied, must take the form of enacting an operational balance between border crossing and border maintenance.

The demands and dynamics of border maintenance received fairly explicit expression in the ideology of the group:

Author:	Is there a common understanding that you avoid straights and hippies in the bar?
Raunch (Rebels M.C.):	Yeah.
Author:	Is it talked about?

Raunch (Rebels M.C.): Yeah. It's just generally understood that when you're sitting in the bar, you're not supposed to have any straights sitting around the table. If you've got a friend there, and a member doesn't want him there, all he's got to do is say so, and the guy has got to go, no exceptions.

Ken, while discussing the nature and frequency of contact situations the club had with outsiders or "average citizens," stated that: "The average citizen is mostly the person you see in the bar. And as far as any contact goes, that's where it usually is. And I would like to see it end" (Ken, President, Rebels M.C.). However, any extreme policy of isolationism, while protecting intermember ties, would jeopardize the perpetuation of the club itself. Interestingly enough, then, if all members of the Rebels M.C. were one hundred percent committed to the core ideology of the group, i.e., the brotherhood, there would be problems. A comparative analysis of the history of the Warlords M.C. illustrates that the danger of such a situation developing can prove to be more real than hypothetical.

The Warlords emerged in 1968 largely through the organizational efforts of two ex-members of the then defunct Coffin Cheaters M.C. of Edmonton. By the early 1970's, the Warlords had consolidated their position as one of the two established outlaw clubs in the city with approximately fifteen members. However, the brotherhood ties that developed between members were so extreme as to preclude any individual breaking into the club's tight-knit social network. It was during this time that the club had one prospect strike for a period of two years before they rejected him. The Warlords subsequently developed a reputation of being largely unapproachable: "The Warlords are more a closed clique of guys who stick pretty much to themselves than they are a club. You don't see them around all that much" (Biker in a bar). The Warlords furthermore isolated themselves from interaction with other clubs in the province:

> Like they (Warlords) want to be a motorcycle club, but they want to be a motorcycle club strictly on their own, with nothing to do with other clubs. We've never once had the two clubs (Rebels and Warlords) come together for a run. Some of their members, like Rae, Dump, and them, come to our parties, drink with us sometimes but that's about it (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

In conjunction with this isolation from the larger biker community, the Warlords did not maintain a club bar. Rather, they restricted their drinking and socializing to their clubhouse (a member's home), or irregular visits to various bars that were often located on the outskirts of the city, e.g., the Airway Motor Inn. While contrasting the style of the two Edmonton clubs, a Warlord commented that: "We're different from the Rebels. We don't go around giving cardiac arrests to little old ladies on the street and we don't put on a show in bars." However, time, alternative commitments, and an internal conflict eventually took their accumulative toll. By 1975, Warlord membership was reduced to five. The Warlords Motorcycle Club was in serious danger of dying from internal atrophy and external threats:

> As far as I'm concerned, the Warlords aren't a club. I've met them three times, once without bikes, once without colours, and another time one of our members received an unsigned card from a supposed Warlord (Ace, President, Chosen Few M.C., Calgary, Alberta).

The Warlords saw the inevitable fate that their policy of isolation had written on the wall when Onion, a well-known biker who visited and had the respect of many Western Canadian clubs, turned down the overtures of the Warlords to become a Rebel. The Warlords responded with a change in policy. In order to increase their exposure to the biker community, they began socializing at the Rebels' bar and set about establishing their own club bar by drinking regularly at the Capilano Motor Inn.

Invitations to outside bikers to attend Warlord runs as guests were more readily given out. As a result of these initiatives, the Warlords M.C. incorporated two new members and had a third prospect striking for them, all within the space of four summer months of 1975. The Warlords furthermore accepted, for the first time, an invitation to join the Rebels M.C. and the Kings Crew M.C. of Calgary on a joint run on Labour Day weekend, 1975. In summary, although the Warlords M.C. have always been a solid enough club in terms of their interpersonal commitments, i.e., the ideology of brotherhood, they became overcommitted to that ideology - overcommitted in the sense that they became inflexible with respect to maintaining the contact with, and exposure to, the larger biker community that is necessary for a motorcycle club's regeneration. What the Warlords failed to establish was a point in their social network that was open to public contact, a club bar, where members of the larger motorcycle subculture could experiment with and perhaps form lasting social ties with the club.

The theoretical implication of the above comparative study of the Warlords M.C. and the Rebels M.C. is that a subcultural group's ability to maintain an operational balance between organizational integrity (border maintenance), and organizational perpetuity (border crossing), may well rest upon the phenomenon of intracultural diversity, i.e., intermember variation. The range of variation that is demanded in this instance extends beyond the diversification required by the division of roles to include the accommodation of conflicting role performance. In effect, the Rebels M.C. illustrated two different causal dimensions of diversity, one structural, the other psychological. Structural diversity pertains to a basic division of labour within the context of an integrated system of roles in order to accomplish a diversified set of tasks. The diversity that emanates from the psychological dimension stems from variation in individual needs to which the group serves as a collective response.

This latter form of psychological diversity becomes evident in three forms: (1) members have different perceptions of the group's goals (conjunctive tasks); (2) members are committed to the group goal to varying degrees; and (3) members have distinct personal goals (disjunctive tasks) that they hope to achieve through group participation. These three sources of variation are in addition to, but different from, variation resulting from a basic division of roles. While the latter results from the integration of complementary skills into a social system, the former is the result of divergent personal orientation towards the core ideology that underlies that system. It is this very heterogeneity of goals that lends the group the necessary behavioural flexibility to meet disparate if not conflicting organizational demands. That is, contrary to the commonly accepted notion, the psychological fact of individual differences in terms of both personal and group goals and values does not manifest itself as a social liability, rather, it functions as a social asset in the form of operational flexibility. In fact, then, this diversity is not a reflection of imperfections in the social system of the group but rather a vital resource, like variations in a gene pool, that lies at the core of social system adaptability and change.

However, a paradox arises in that while interindividual diversity may be an asset to a social system, the full recognition of that diversity on the part of its members may not be. That is, while individuals may use the group to meet diverse individual needs, meeting those needs may require at least a minimal impression of uniformity (in terms of goals and values) and the experience of solidarity necessary to maintain the sense of common identity that underlies cooperative groups in general and which is characteristic of subcultures in particular. Just as it would be theoretically impossible to maintain a situation of intermember competition if all members shared the same goal, so too it would be difficult to maintain a situation of intermember cooperation if members perceived value and goal heterogeneity. This development would be particularly true in situations calling for altruistic behaviour such as generalized reciprocity or self-sacrifice. Specifically, if the full extent of variation were known, breakdown would occur.

It becomes necessary then to control or counteract the degree of perceived variation. That is, in order to accommodate both cooperative and mixed-motive interaction, the heterogeneous motives and objectives of individuals must be meaningfully merged and related to the collective welfare of the group. This goal can be accomplished by attributing generalized principles to the members as a unit. These underlying principles such as "love for the club," "love for one's brothers," "live to ride, ride to live," form the dominant subcultural premises on which commitment to the club and its members rests. These principles are abstract enough that members can employ diverse systems of intentionality and purpose, related to their individual needs and interpretations of the club, and still preserve a sense of common identity. In this manner, an operational balance can be maintained between the centripetal forces of perceived diversity and the centrifugal forces of perceived uniformity.

These categorical cultural premises - one hundred percent expectations - such as "the brotherhood," thus minimize or disguise variation by virtue of their capacity to function as group symbols. As symbols these cultural premises are capable of exerting their influence on two different dimensions of meaning, one ideological, the other emotional or affective (Turner, 1964). The ideological aspect consists of those cultural norms or values that are associated with a particular domain of belief or behaviour. The emotive aspect consists of the emotional ties or sensory experiences one has as a result of engaging in that domain of belief or behaviour. Elaborating on Turner's distinction, Manning (1974) observed that although the ideological and emotive dimensions are theoretically separable - each contributes different qualities to the reality of the cultural domain in question - there is a complementary interchange of these qualities. Thus, for example, the expression of emotion is given social legitimacy by the ideological dimension of the brotherhood:

> It gives me a down to earth relationship with people. Like if I was on the outside, if I was just a straight on the outside, you can't get down to the fucking nitty gritties with even your closest friends. You can't put your arm around his neck and say: "Love ya brother!" because it's just not that way, society doesn't accept that. I've seen on several occasions, different straights try and do that, and if one didn't veer off the other one did. They're not themselves. With the club, I can be myself, I can do what I want, when I want (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

At the same time the ideological dimension is charged with emotion:

> Well, it's (the brotherhood) given me something to live for. It's changed my life a lot. I've got somebody else to think about besides myself now. I don't know, it's good to have people that you can always depend on (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

Social groups will vary in terms of which dimension, ideological or emotive, or combination thereof, they emphasize. An outlaw motorcycle club presents itself as an alternative social structure to the host society. More importantly they are a fundamentalist group, based on primary face-to-face relationships, that must function under a wide range of conditions. Together these factors preclude a rigid institutional structure with itemized norms and values enamoring specific roles or codes of behaviour; rather, an outlaw motorcycle club must establish a flexible working hypothesis whose fundamental characteristic is a presumed common understanding that members' behaviour will be guided by their devotion to the club and its members. An outlaw motorcycle club therefore cannot be overly concerned with promoting ideological homogeneity on a formal basis. Alternatively, abstract principles of presumed commonality must be reinforced by emotive commitment based on the reality of cooperative group efforts.

The inadequacy of relying solely on the ideological dimension of group symbols became evident at one point in the study when the Rebels M.C. experienced a situation of internal tension and conflict. The club meetings that followed saw a number of members formally asked what the brotherhood meant. There were, however, no set definitions to fall upon, no prearranged rhetoric in which members could engage. These formal discussions of the brotherhood were neither definitive nor satisfactory. The difficulty, as explained by one member, was that ". . . it's hard to explain love for a fellow man. You can't. It's something you feel. It's something you do" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

The psychology of small group behaviour has laid great emphasis on collective task achievement as being the primary promoting and preserving agent of group solidarity and perceived homogeneity (Shaw, 1971). The unifying effects of collective task achievement are most pronounced in the area of inter-group interaction, in particular, inter-group conflict. The sociology of group dynamics has emphasized the fact that intra-group coherence is enhanced and inter-group boundaries made more salient by virtue of the presence of a hostile outgroup (Rae, 1971). In attempting to identify those forces that result in the persistence of cultural systems, anthropologist E.H. Spicer concluded that "the oppositional process is the essential factor in the formation and development of the persistent identity system" (1971:797). Focussing on personal psychodynamics, it is here proposed that the above elements are most pervasive when they involve violence. Violence, whether it is constructive or destructive, is for the individual the most virulent means of asserting his personal identity. Thus, when an external threat requires collective violence on the part of the members of a group, individual and group identity are most dramatically merged. Just such a social drama was created by the Canadian Airborne Regiment.

For nine years the Airborne Regiment was stationed at Canadian Forces Base Edmonton, Griesbach Barracks, located just north of Edmonton. The specially trained paratroop fighting force, which was then part of Mobile Command and numbered more than eight hundred, ". . . was probably the best-known component of the forces stationed in Edmonton with its high profile reputation as Canada's elite fighting force" (McMillan, 1977). The Canadian Airborne Regiment achieved international repute as a peace-keeping force as part of the United Nations task force in Cyprus. However, part of their local "high profile" included practising their techniques in local bars. In the summer of 1972 one of their personnel was assaulted in the Coffee Cup Inn, a coffee house of ill-repute which opened its doors at 10:00 p.m. to a largely criminal clientele. The next evening a contingent of Airborne returned and literally destroyed the Inn and badly beat up anyone who was unfortunate enough to be there at the time.

As the story goes, the Airborne had phoned the Edmonton City Police and informed them of the upcoming "search and destroy" mission. The purpose was to request that the police delay their intervention. According to a member of the Military Police stationed at Griesbach:

> The "Coffee Cup Mission" was indeed planned as a destroy type incident. As I recall it was planned by a lieutenant who used a military vehicle as a jump off point. The Edmonton City Police knew about it beforehand through their own means. I was informed of this while talking with a member of the Edmonton City Police dog handling unit (that trained at the Griesbach base) . . . I guess they (members of Airborne) had pulled off something similar a month earlier when they went after the homosexuals at the Pegasus (a gay bar) (name of M.P. withheld in deference to Canada Official Secrets Act).

In any event, the police were late in arriving and no charges were laid in connection with the incident.

The Airborne drank regularly at the Roslyn Hotel, located on the northern outskirts of Edmonton, while the Rebels had adopted the Kingsway Inn as their club bar. In the winter of 1975 the twain were to meet. The Airborne began showing up at the Kingsway after one of their regiment had been hired as a bouncer. On Wednesday, March 5, thirty members of the Airborne's Francophone unit called One Commando (the Anglophone equivalent is called Two Commando), came to "drink." Three barroom fights later, the police were called to help a patron press charges and the Airborne were ushered outside. The Rebels considered the presence of the Airborne a territorial infringement, and were none too happy or impressed as they watched the proceedings:

Crash (Rebels M.C.):	What a bunch of assholes!
Raunch (Rebels M.C.):	Anybody who joins an organization like that has to have a need to put people down.

When the Rebels began laughing at the whole situation the atmosphere became tense. No one was moving; both groups stopped drinking and began scrutinizing each other. A confrontation appeared inevitable.

Killer made a telephone call to the clubhouse. Whoever took the message would immediately send those members who were present to the Kingsway. One of the old ladies would then conduct a phone survey in an effort to contact those members not accounted for. Meanwhile, back at the bar, the Rebels began to prepare themselves mentally and coordinate their plan of action.

> Killer's put in a call to the clubhouse. They'll be here quick enough. Don't go anywhere by yourself, we'll handle this thing together. Just sit tight, and stop drinking. Think about what you're going to do, and run through it over and over again (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.).

Anyone who has engaged in a barroom brawl knows that they are usually over with quickly, and demand a tremendous amount of energy over a short period of time. In addition to physical prowess, success requires both concentration and intensity, with no hint of hesitation. It was these factors that Wee Albert was reminding the author of.

> Author: Well, I suppose what's going to happen is going to happen, but I could have done with a few less beer.
>
> Wee Albert (Rebels M.C.): That's okay, a lot of them look pretty drunk. Try and pick them out, that's who we'll go for first. We'll make them pay no matter what happens. In the meantime, sip your beer and play it cool.

"Play it cool" relates to the basic psychodynamics of self-image formation and projection. An individual enters a barroom brawl with the same psychological sensitivities that he uses in the otherwise "real world." Just as he evaluates his own physiological and mental capacities in terms of the feedback he received from others, so too will he be keenly aware of the reaction his presence causes an opponent to have in those tense moments prior to a conflict. If you show you fear him, he will feel strong. If you disdain him, he will feel uncertain. During the actual combat one must at all costs remain impervious to the efforts of his foe. If all these seemingly extraneous ploys portray you as cool, deliberate, and confident, you may have helped your opponent fold in the clutch.

Unless there is a decided advantage to one party, a brawl between two groups requires an initial catalytic incident. The arrival of the additional complement of Rebels from the clubhouse equated the groups numerically and seemed to dampen the Airborne's initial enthusiasm. On the other hand, the Rebels were not willing to jeopardize their relationship with hotel management, especially in their favourite club bar, by pressing the issue. However, insofar as both groups had designs on either maintaining or incorporating the Kingsway bar as part of their informal territory, it was inevitable that this equilibrium be disrupted by some future form of threat escalation.

Three days later on Saturday, March 8, a local radio station, CHED, received a complaint on their telephone newsline. A patron of the Roslyn Hotel reported that twenty Airborne, in full dress uniform, were "polluted out of their minds, crawling on the floor, over tables, throwing berets at people, etc." She furthermore said that when she forwarded her complaint to the Forces Base, the reply was: "How can we single out twenty from more than eight hundred personnel?" Later that evening those same twenty Airborne decided to move from the Roslyn Hotel to the Kingsway. That evening the necessary incident happened.

The member of the Airborne who was working as a bouncer at the Kingsway wanted to make room for his friends in a crowded bar. He picked up a chair that had a leather jacket on it, threw the jacket on the floor, and gave the chair to his friend. The jacket held Larry's colours. Larry, shooting pool at the time, came over and took the chair back. When the Airborne bouncer spit on Larry, Larry threw him to the ground and returned the courtesy. The other bouncers moved in and ushered the Airborne bouncer and Larry to the door. Larry wrestled the bouncer to the ground and then said: "Fuck you! You're a waste of time. I'm going back and finish my beer!" The Airborne bouncer insulted, perhaps scared, called the Forces Base for assistance.

The Rebels began to notice the gradual swelling in the number of Airborne present. They began arriving, two by two, groups of six, and finally a group of nine. Jim placed an emergency call to the clubhouse. At 11:45 p.m., Armand was entering the doorway at the same time as three Airborne. One of the Airborne, speaking in French, told the bouncer to "Call those asshole Rebels outside." Armand, who is bilingual, looked down at the Rebel skull patch on his own club tee-shirt, then said: "Alors! C'est un Rebel," and then proceeded to deck the startled Airborne. The band stopped as both groups scrambled to get outside into the fracas which moved to the parking lot. Management immediately locked the doors in order to protect the bar and its patrons. Although the Rebels were joined by a number of friends of the club, Rae (president of the Warlords M.C.) and one bouncer, they were still at a numerical disadvantage:

> Police say Saturday night's brawl, outside the Kingsway Inn, 108th Street and Kingsway Avenue, involved about forty paratroopers from the Canadian Airborne Regiment, and twenty-three members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club (Edmonton Journal, March 13, 1975).

The Airborne had also brought with them an impressive retinue of street fighting hardware, including karate equipment, a steel ball attached to a chain, a makeshift blackjack (a leather ball inside a sock), steel bars, and a baseball bat. But a small group that fights as a single unit has a decided advantage over a larger uncoordinated group. This is precisely what happened.

The Rebels attacked together, with the viciousness of cornered animals. They had shared too much together to think of deserting any of their brothers. It was now a brotherhood of survival, fighting with a vengeance. In the rush to get outside, the Saint, generally a reserved, soft-spoken, certainly not aggressive individual, found himself trapped with two Airborne in the exit way. With him he had a motorcycle battery that he had intended to trade to a friend of the club. Battery in hand, he swung wildly. The Airborne were again caught off guard, and crumpled by the doorway. Ken, leading the way, fell when struck by the ball and chain. Clayton was slashed on the shoulder while trying to help him. Rae of the Warlords M.C. had found an old hockey stick in the parking lot and swung at the chain-wielding Airborne, breaking both ribs and resolve. The Airborne began to disperse as they saw a number of their fellows being beaten. These were not raw recruits but Airborne personnel that had completed their training in unarmed combat, weaponry, parachuting, and other special skills ranging from rappelling to riot control. However, they had not yet endured and shared enough as a group to cement those ties of comradeship that result in members presuming, and acting upon, a principle of self-sacrifice. The bonds of brotherhood certainly do not just happen, nor can they be "grained" for; they must be forged over time through open communication and shared experiences occurring within a social network that displays a high frequency of intense interpersonal contacts over a wide variety of situations. The multi-faceted commitment that results precludes any alternative that hints of compromise by way of desertion. "They just wouldn't stick together" (Jim, Rebels M.C.). "They were out to shut us down and rough us up. For us, it was survival. We were out to maim. We were going after them with our bare hands and doing something about it. They broke and ran" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.). The actual fighting lasted approximately fifteen minutes. The results:

> Thirteen Soldiers Hurt in Brawl with Gang
>
> A brawl early Sunday morning between members of a motorcycle gang and soldiers from the Canadian Airborne Regiment at Namao sent thirteen of the soldiers to hospital for treatment of minor injuries.
>
> The brawl, on streets near the Kingsway Inn . . . apparently started as a personal argument, then spread to the streets, said an Armed Forces spokesman . . . . Most of the soldiers were treated for lacerations at the base hospital at Namao (Edmonton Journal, March 10, 1975).

The Edmonton City Police showed up and watched the aftermath of the fight, no longer localized on the parking lot, as the Rebels chased off remaining Airborne. A couple of Airborne got into their cars and tried to run down pursuing Rebels on the east side parking lot. Gerry, who had gotten hold of a gooseneck (a three-pound steel wrecking ball), hit the fender of one car, then threw the bar through the windshield. Crash turned as he heard someone yell, "Look out behind you!" Crash stepped aside an oncoming black sedan that he thought was headed for him, and laid his engineering boot deep into the side panel. The black sedan turned out to be an unmarked police cruiser. Out of the squad car jumped two very upset plainclothes police officers who laid the only charges in connection with the incident: "Police say _____ _____ (Crash), of _______ Street, is to appear in court on a mischief charge" (Edmonton Journal, March 10, 1975).

One of the bouncers, Mike _____, had formed a friendship with the Rebels and fought alongside them. He was later charged with assault and battery by one of the Airborne casualties. The Airborne in question was actually the victim of the Saint and his motorcycle battery. Unfortunately, Mike, as an employee of the Kingsway, lacked the anonymity that often protects the Rebels. The Kingsway Inn would not support Mike in the ensuing legal suit insofar as his duties as a bouncer (employee) ceased once he was outside the tavern's premises. A barroom bouncer generally budgets for one or two torn shirts a week as part of the profession's occupational hazards. However, Mike figuratively lost his shirt in the following legal battle, $4,000 in damages alone. The Airborne bouncer who had initiated the incident never saw fit to come outside; and discreetly left the premises when he saw that it was the Rebels, not the Airborne, who were returning to finish their beer. He was promptly fired by Hank, the bar manager. While hotel management sympathized with the Rebels M.C., the incident received such widespread negative publicity that the Western Hotel Chain - the corporate owners - issued a directive to ban motorcyclists from the Kingsway Inn. From one perspective the ban constituted misguided justice; but from the perspective of the hotel's owners, it prevented the Kingway from becoming a major battleground: ". . . one member of the Airborne said they planned to go back with one hundred and fifty men if they had to. Anything to drink at the Kingsway" (Edmonton Report, March 24, 1975).

The Rebels were well aware of the personnel resources of the Airborne and they expected some form of retaliation. An emergency meeting was held Sunday. It was decided that members would congregate daily at the clubhouse which would be continuously guarded by at least three members armed with shotguns. On Monday morning members of the

Airborne went shopping at the Northgate Shopping Centre. A clerk in a sporting goods store, who happened to be a sister of one of the Rebels, guessed that they were Airborne by their short hair, French accents, and comments about the Rebels. She talked to the store's manager, who phoned up Captain Anderson (Assistant Regimental Adjutant) and asked him if there was any particular reason that the Forces Base required seventy-five baseball bats. Captain Anderson ordered the Military Police to conduct a locker raid and car-trunk search which resulted in M.P.'s confiscating a large quantity of baseball bats, chains, and assorted frying pans:

> Soldiers Warned Against Retaliation
>
> Members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment stationed at Griesbach, have been warned against any retaliatory action after a brawl Saturday night outside a city tavern sent thirteen of the soldiers to hospital for treatment of injuries.
>
> Captain Craig Mills, information officer for the Canadian Forces, said the army has received reports that a group of men identified as soldiers, purchased baseball bats, frying pans, and chains at a city department store Monday.
>
> "We're telling them to restrain themselves and let the matter die," Capt. Mills said. 'We don't want any further incidents of this type.'
>
> . . . Capt. Mills said the paratroopers have left for manoeuvres in the Wainwright area, and will be there until March 27 (Edmonton Journal, March 13, 1975).

The Kingsway Motor Inn continued to ban from its premises anybody who even remotely looked like a biker; and the process of establishing a new club bar began anew; but the confrontation was over.

For the Rebels the brotherhood had been reaffirmed. Each member had taken extreme risk, and made personal sacrifices for the group:

> I thought, "Well, this is it!" I looked at all the hardware those guys were carrying, and I thought, 'Well, this is it! I'm probably not going to be able to walk for a month!' There must have been at least fifty-five of them. I don't think they expected us to fight against those odds, but we went at them, swinging, kicking, clawing with anything we could find. I got a boot in the head and went down with sore ribs, but that was about it (Onion, Rebels M.C.).

Whether the process is disparate, heroic, or banal doesn't really matter; the brotherhood emerges as a necessary condition of life. Loyalty arises out of the midst of danger, out of the tension and apprehension of possible injury, mutiliation, or worse.

As a result of extensive media coverage and articulation by the members themselves - from mutual praise to joking references - the "Battle of the Kingsway" became part of Rebel folklore. The Kingsway incident emerged as a symbolic historical reference that served to vitalize and confirm a collective identity that implied brotherhood. With respect to the issue of identity maintenance, the incident supports the contention that some form of "oppositional process" is necessary to ensure a persistent identity system (Spicer, 1971). By itself the episode became part of their heritage of sufferings and triumphs. The venture imparted to them a unique destiny which they shared in terms of a collective identity and which they became motivated to fulfill.

Conclusion

Observations of the Rebels Motorcycle Club indicated that ideational and behavioural variation do not occur at random but are systematically related to those environmental conditions to which the group as a unit and members as individuals must adapt. As a formal voluntary association attempting to separate itself both structurally and emotionally from the larger society - establish itself as a subculture - the Rebels Motorcycle Club must meet two organizational requirements which make conflicting behavioural demands on the group. First, organizational integrity requires the maintenance of social structural borders on institutional, interpersonal, and personal-value levels of participation. Second, organizational perpetuity requires that those social structural boundaries be crossed in order to recruit new members. Inter-member variation in the form of diverse personal orientations towards the group's core ideology is portrayed as being instrumental in generating the behavioural latitude necessary to allow the Rebels M.C. to meet these disparate organizational demands. This variation becomes evident in three forms: (1) members have different perceptions of the group goal; (2) members are committed to the group goal to varying degrees; and (3) members have distinct personal goals that they hope to achieve through group participation. This value and goal heterogeneity prevents an overcommitment to the ideology of social isolation and gives rise to the continued presence of the Rebels at a "club bar." The club bar functions as a buffer zone, or point of cultural interface, between the Rebels Motorcycle Club and the larger host society by providing a recruiting ground for new members; a social network of non-club affiliated bikers crystallizes around the Rebels' presence.

The overt manifestation of intracultural diversity has different implications for both individual and group welfare depending on the situational context in which it occurs. Subsequently, the expression and/or regulation of that diversity will vary accordingly. Within the controlled organizational setting of the group, as is the case with formal meetings, the expression of individual variation is regulated by normative mechanisms such as standardized decision-making procedures (e.g., voting), and is channelled in the direction of group interests. Individual divergence thus shapes the ongoing political rhetoric, forms the basis of social change viz-a-viz the presentation of alternatives (Bennett, 1976), and is accepted as part of the group process. The

Rebels, however, are not entirely in control of the barroom situation. Unlike club events held within the confines of the clubhouse, the Rebels in the bar must continually negotiate their presence and behavioural style in terms of highly unpredictable external variables. Under these buffer zone conditions normative procedures for regulating variation become inoperable; yet the overt expression of variation becomes intolerable. The potentially disruptive effects of perceived variation arise as a result of the negative implications it holds for: (i) the degree to which the Rebels appear vulnerable to outside threats; (ii) the extent to which the Rebels are successful in presenting a favourable impression to potential novitiates (strikers); and (iii) members' own perceptions of group uniformity and solidarity. Joint ritual and symbolic participation by members allow the intended function of the bar to operate while giving the impression of complete uniformity and solidarity to outsiders. Collective symbolism furthermore amplifies the experience of uniformity and solidarity for members by both regulating and disguising the dialectic between personal motivations and group interests.

SECTION V

GROUP IDENTITY AND MECHANISMS OF INFORMAL CONTROL

This section proceeds on the rationale that a greater understanding of the processes that underly sociocultural adaptation can be achieved through the adoption of what is introduced as a personalcentric approach. The major theoretical tenet of the personalcentric approach is that culture is a cognitive (mental) phenomenon, not an external (physical) phenomenon. In effect, the individual becomes the locus of cultural learning, adaptation, and change. Chapter 16 establishes a theoretical framework for viewing culture as an ideational subsystem located within a vastly complex system; the neurophysiology of information processing and cognition. Chapter 17 implements the personalcentric approach by operationalizing a research strategy wherein the actual boundaries of a sociocultural organization are discerned in terms of the impact they have on individual member's everyday decision making process. The impact of group affiliation on decision making processes is shown to extend beyond both formally organized and collective activities, into the area of what would otherwise be considered as personal behaviour.

Chapter 16 - Presumed Behaviour: The Construction of Individual Theories of Culture

Chapter 17 - Covert Influence of Group Membership upon Personal Subsistence Strategies

Chapter 16

PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIVIDUAL THEORIES OF CULTURE

Introduction

Culture is an analytic construct which models those informational precedents for decision making that facilitate the interpretation of experience and the generation of behaviour.

The purpose of the following section is to demonstrate that culture is not merely a correlate of social structure nor is it inextricably limited to group participation. The major implication of this proposition is that the behavioural effects of culture may reveal themselves outside obvious formal and collective group forms. In order to test this proposition a purely cultural analysis, based on tracing the interconnection of underlying cultural premises, is conducted with the objective of revealing social borders where none are enforced or recognized. These informal social borders are shown to be manifest in the form of overlapping job choices on the part of club members. This conformity of response in an informal area is the result of psychological forces of self-identity extending beyond the sociological forces of formal and collective participation. Specifically, the overlap is a result of members' identity being threatened in a situation wherein there is no social (club) form to fall back upon. Thus, while variation is not collectively regulated by the group, it is not tolerated by the individual; and uniformity is emphasized in the face of threat to personal identity occurring outside the club context.

Theoretical Background

In the recent past anthropologists have begun to take serious interest in the study of man's urban environment. However, the science of anthropology itself was born largely out of the study of small-scale societies, variations on the theme of rural ethos. It is not surprising, then, that many of the discipline's theoretical and methodological assumptions have proven to be inadequate in reaching an understanding of the complexities of urban social structure. Urban anthropologists in particular are beset with the task of "rethinking anthropology."

One of the more immediate problems is that of comprehending social boundaries in the face of cultural diversity. Dealing with tribal society an anthropologist was in a position to isolate several well-defined, concrete activity systems: sociocultural events whose customary performance demanded a particular type of role enactment. These activity systems, the total of which comprised a particular society's behaviour repertoire, were interrelated into a functional unit by means of a holistic approach. Recognizing that the reality of sociocultural systems exists only in terms of individual performance--cultures don't have behavioural repertoires, individuals do--it was assumed that social patterning led to a state of "ideal congruence" between individual personalities and social roles (Inkeles and Levinson, 1954). Underlying the assumption of homogeneity was the premise that one was studying a closed (isolated), monolithic, and therefore "highly integrated" social system. The implication for the establishment of social boundaries was that there existed "invariant reference points" (Kluckhohn, 1953).

In contrast, modern industrialized urbanism presents a social milieu characterized by sociocultural diversity and pluralism. The urban individual may participate in innumerable disaffiliated concrete action systems as a result of his association with any number of general purpose groups. It is possible for him to be exposed to several behaviour models along with their supporting group perspectives. Under these circumstances, it becomes apparent that the relationship between formal group structure and personal performance is not a direct one, but rather one that was mitigated by personal meaning. This aspect of personal meaning becomes particularly salient in these situations insofar as role choice, role performance, and the ultimate impact of group association become more a matter of personal strategy than of social contact. Thus by virtue of cultural and structural heterogeneity, the individual as a discrete unit of analysis, becomes a significant cultural artifact. Implicit in this argument is the suggestion that the individual be conceptualized as a decision maker as opposed to a decision made, and furthermore, be considered as the ultimate locus of group meaning. This thesis explores two implications that the above suggestion holds for the process of constructing (abstracting) group structure. The implications which centre around the issue of intermember variation are that both the range of group effect (the levels or areas of behaviour that fall under group influence), and the degree of group effect (the extent to which members' patterns for and patterns of behaviour overlap) are subject to interpersonal and personal negotiation.

The consequences of individual negotiation of the degree of group influence are dealt with in Chapter 17. Chapter 17 examines both the fact of, and the need for, intermember variation in the form of cognitive diversity. The discussion is based on the position that we cannot automatically conceive of a (sub) culture in terms of a homogeneous, monolithic entity. Every human holds in his mind a model pattern of external objective reality. Included in that model is his theory on the meaning of group association, his presumed group identity, e.g., "what being a Rebel is all about." This internal construct may or may not correspond accurately with reality, and it may or may not be self-consistent. But most important for intermember variation is that both the areas and the extent to which a model is shared become a problematical matter subject to substantive empirical measurement. There is no one single factor such as participation in a common social structure that ensures replication of this internal construct. That is, membership/participation in a societal complex, be that complex a nation, institution, caste group, or motorcycle club, does not by virtue of interaction in a functional unit by itself either ensure, nor necessitate, a sharing of identical goals, values, plans of action, or incorporated rules of behaviour. In reality what we observe are interacting individuals in specific situations; and these individuals should be considered as discrete (sub) cultural units. The chapter at hand discusses the possibilities that adopting the individual as the ultimate locus of group meaning has for establishing the range of group effect. In particular, it examines a situation wherein social structural and cultural boundaries do not coincide.

Equating Group Boundaries to Group Structure Obscures the Total Effect of Group Membership on Individual Behaviour

The issue considered here is the questionable utility of relying solely upon formal structural analysis in evaluating group influence. Formal group structural analysis refers to those studies whose primary concern is with group structure per se. Characteristically the units of analysis are instrumental tasks, formal role definitions, relationship of the group to the host society, etc. The underlying theoretical assumption is one of structural determinism which expresses itself in a methodological emphasis on abstracting institutional norms which are then seen as directing and delimiting individual behaviour. In effect the level of analysis is such that the attention of the investigator is directed towards the behaviour of the organization, not its members.

The inappropriateness of relying solely on group structural analysis stems from the fact that it creates a structure which does not allow for variability in individual motivation and interpretation. With respect to the definition of group boundaries, a further conseqeunce of not considering these aspects of individual meaning is that one is unable to gauge those effects of group participation on individual behaviour that do not manifest themselves in a "collective form."

Presumed Behaviour

Presumed behaviour was inaugerated as a concept by C.E. Richards (1969) in order to supplement the distinction in anthropology between real and ideal behaviour:

> Anthropologists have long been aware of the difference between the ideal pattern in society (what people think should or should not be done) and real behavior (what actually is done). This article draws attention to the importance of a third element, presumed behavior, or what people think is being done in the society. Since people tend to act on the basis of what they think others are doing (which may not coincide at all with what people are actually doing, or with the ideal pattern), knowledge of the presumed behavior is highly significant in understanding and predicting social behavior (Richards, 1969:1115).

Richards felt that anthropologists could gain insight into the dynamics of society by expanding their analytic scope from the well-established dichotomy of real and ideal behaviour to a trichotomy of real, ideal, and presumed behaviour. Richards' concept of presumed behaviour can be summarized as the concrete action structure attributed to others based on direct participation, observation, vicarious communication, or other forms of inference. In assessing the relative importance of this third element, Richards stated that "the effect of the presumed behavior is greater than that of the real behavior because members of a society usually do not have accurate knowledge of what the real behavior is" (*Loc. cit.*). The theoretical significance of presumed behaviour thus ultimately rests on the tenet that an accounting of members' internal models of reality - what they presume is happening - is basic to an understanding of human social behaviour.

The author is in complete agreement that the dichotomy of real and ideal behaviour is a long-standing oversimplification. It is also the contention of this thesis that presumed behaviour is the major group referent for personal behaviour choice. However, introducing presumed behaviour as one element of a trichotomy involves a basic conceptual error. Specifically, Richards (1969) failed to make the distinction between abstractions made by the social scientist based on etic analysis: real and ideal behaviour; and abstractions made by the subjects under study as obtained through emic analysis; presumed real, and presumed ideal behaviour. In a subsequent re-examination of the presumed behaviour concept, P.E. Josselin de Jong (1970) repeated this same conceptual error in assuming that "there is actually a trichotomy of ideal, real, and presumed behaviour." In order to accommodate the basic emic/etic separation, a minimal distinction of four categories becomes necessary. These categories are outlined below.

Etic Analysis		Emic Analysis	
Abstractions about a socio-cultural system based upon anthropologist's observation/ interpretation of verbal and non-verbal behaviour.		Abstractions about a socio-cultural system based upon a member's observation/ interpretation of verbal and non-verbal behaviour.	
Real Behaviour	Ideal Behaviour	Presumed Real Behaviour	Presumed Ideal Behaviour
1	2	3	4

Emic and etic analysis are not mutually exclusive, and can, and have been, productively combined as complementary methodological techniques. However, their theoretical separation is important insofar as the former is attuned to explaining how social action gets structured, while the latter does not explain how people act as much as what they "know," which is the issue we are concerned with here.

Given that the focus of one's study is how information about the group acts as a guideline to behaviour - emic analysis - then it is erroneous to talk about real or ideal behaviour, since by definition we are dealing with individual reality constructs. These constructs are based upon information, "factual" or otherwise, that has been categorized by the individual, and which that individual presumes to be either real or ideal in nature. Thus, if we are intent upon examining the conception the individual has of the group, and the impact this concept has on decision making, then all behaviour becomes either presumed real, or presumed ideal, behaviour. From a phenomenological perspective, it makes little sense to distinguish between presumed behaviour and real behaviour in as much as the distinction between "belief" and "knowledge" becomes an untenable one.

Individual Theory of the Group

Within the context of this study, the concept of presumed behaviour is expanded to include the individual's notion of the organizing principles which underlie members' behaviour. Contained within these underlying principles are those socio-cultural themes whose meanings are generalized, maintained, and transmitted through club symbolism and activity. This system of beliefs which the individual attributes to other members is hereafter referred to as the presumed meaning structure. The additional aspect of presumed meaning structure allows us to consider and account for group influence in a much wider social context than if we limited our attention to behaviour per se. This enlarged perspective results from the fact that once principles or themes are extracted by members from a behavioural situation (participated, observed, inferred, or otherwise), they can be generalized and applied outside the specifics of that situation. The two fundamental components of the individual's theory of the group are: (1) the presumed action structure of the members, and (2) the presumed meaning structure of the members (Figure 8).

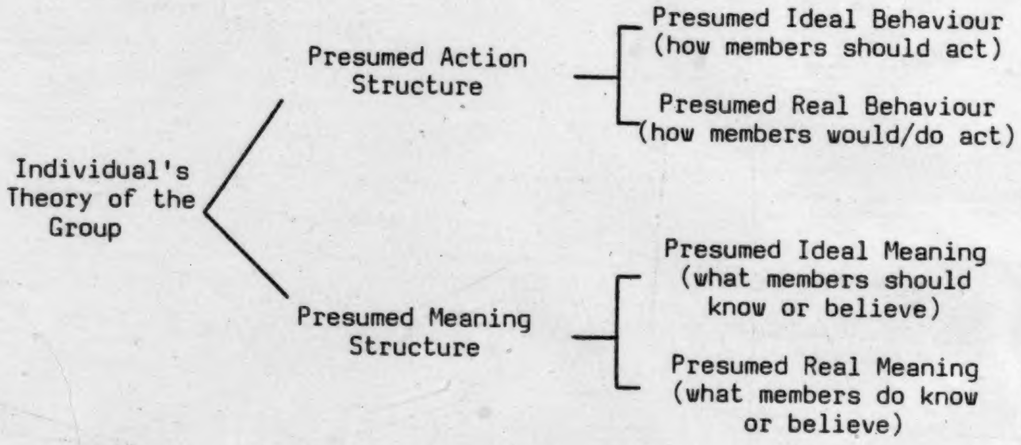
Individual's Theory of the Group
Presumed Action Structure
Presumed Ideal Behaviour (how members should act)
Presumed Real Behaviour (how members would/do act)
Presumed Meaning Structure
Presumed Ideal Meaning (what members should know or believe)
Presumed Real Meaning (what members do know or believe)

Figure 8. Components of the individual's theory of the group.

An individual's theory of group is part of his cognitive repertoire - part of his system of knowledge. As such, it is an actual mental construct and not strictly an analytic one. It is his concept of how the group functions and the principles that underlie its operation. It is his model of external social reality which serves as a group reference in personal decision making.

There are two different analytic dimensions to the theory of group construct, one static, one dynamic. First, the theory of group has a static dimension in that it is made up of past information that has been internalized by the individual. As past learned information it forms a major but separate component of meaning as a cultural construct: General Theory of Group. The theory of group assumes a dynamic role when certain aspects of it are activated by an individual as a guideline to the interpretation or generation of behaviour in a given situation. As a situation-specific construct, it acts as the individual's group reference in the dynamic structuring of information: Operational Theory of Group. The fundamental difference between the general theory of group and the operational theory of group is that the latter is formulated in light of the contingencies of a specific situation, i.e., new information, and as a result, may not be a duplication or reflection of the former (Figure 9).

In summary, the individual's theory of group is his model of how his society functions. It is a mental construct consisting of two primary components: (1) how other members would, should, and do act - presumed action structure; and (2) what other members know, believe in, or mean - presumed meaning structure. As a mental construct the theory of group has two, theoretically separable, analytic dimensions: (i) his general theory of group is a major but separate component of the individual's theory of culture; and (ii) his operational theory of group is activated as one element in the dynamic structuring of information relevant to a specific situation.

Information Processing

The aspect of human social existence that a concept such as presumed behaviour helps us understand is most cogently portrayed within the context of human information processing . . . how we know what we know. Whatever the specific nature of an individual's interaction with the outside world - whether it involves a transaction with two or more people in a group or the solitary operation of a machine - the information processing procedures which underlie that interaction remain basically the same. These procedures, including the role played by one's theory of the group in informing personal behaviour, are summarized below and represented diagrammatically in Figure 10.

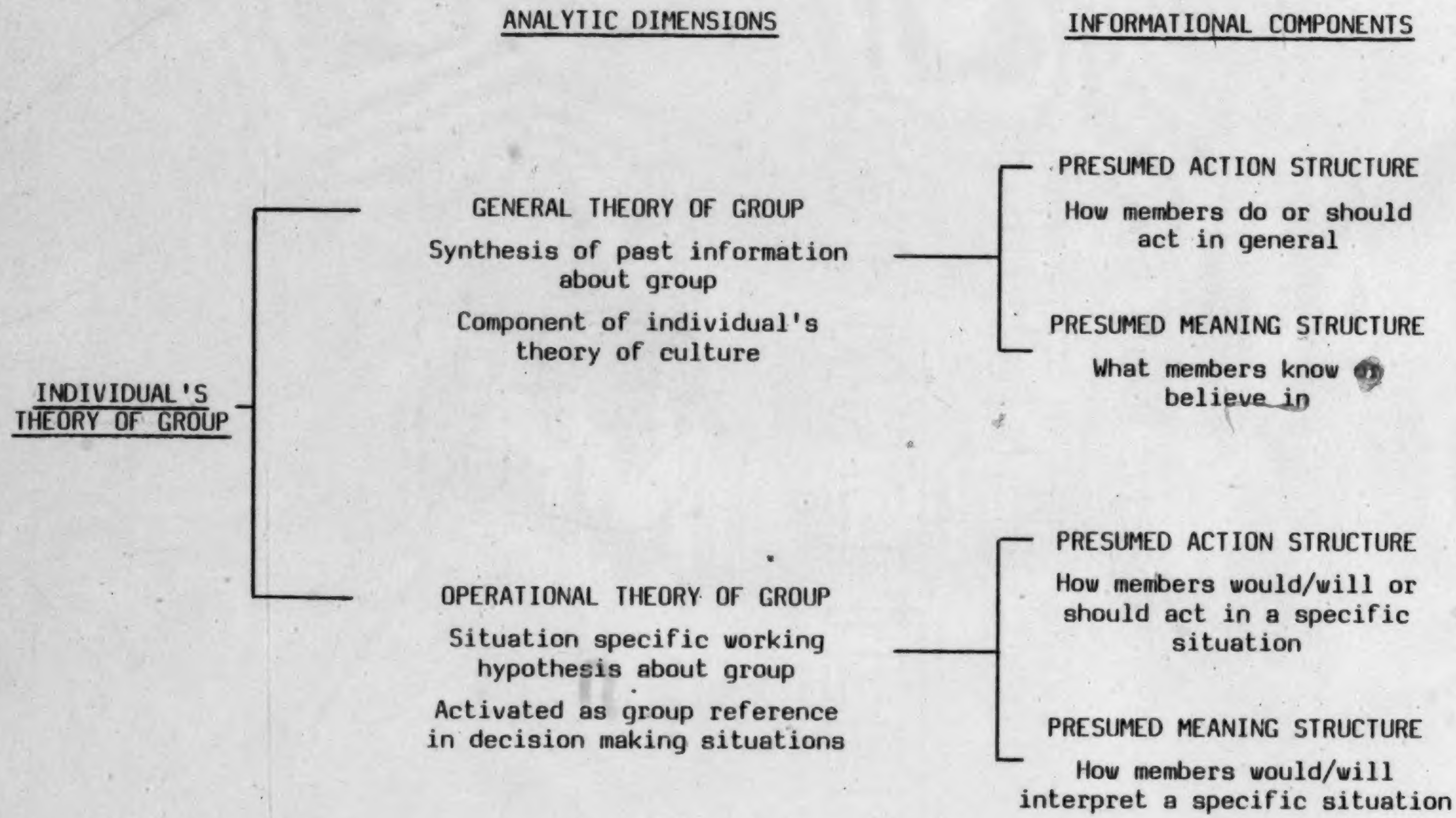
ANALYTIC DIMENSIONS
INFORMATIONAL COMPONENTS
INDIVIDUAL'S THEORY OF GROUP
GENERAL THEORY OF GROUP
Synthesis of past information about group
Component of individual's theory of culture
OPERATIONAL THEORY OF GROUP
Situation specific working hypothesis about group
Activated as group reference in decision making situations
PRESUMED ACTION STRUCTURE
How members do or should act in general
PRESUMED MEANING STRUCTURE
What members know or believe in
PRESUMED ACTION STRUCTURE
How members would/will or should act in a specific situation
PRESUMED MEANING STRUCTURE
How members would/will interpret a specific situation

Figure 9. Analytic dimensions and informational components of individual's theory of group.

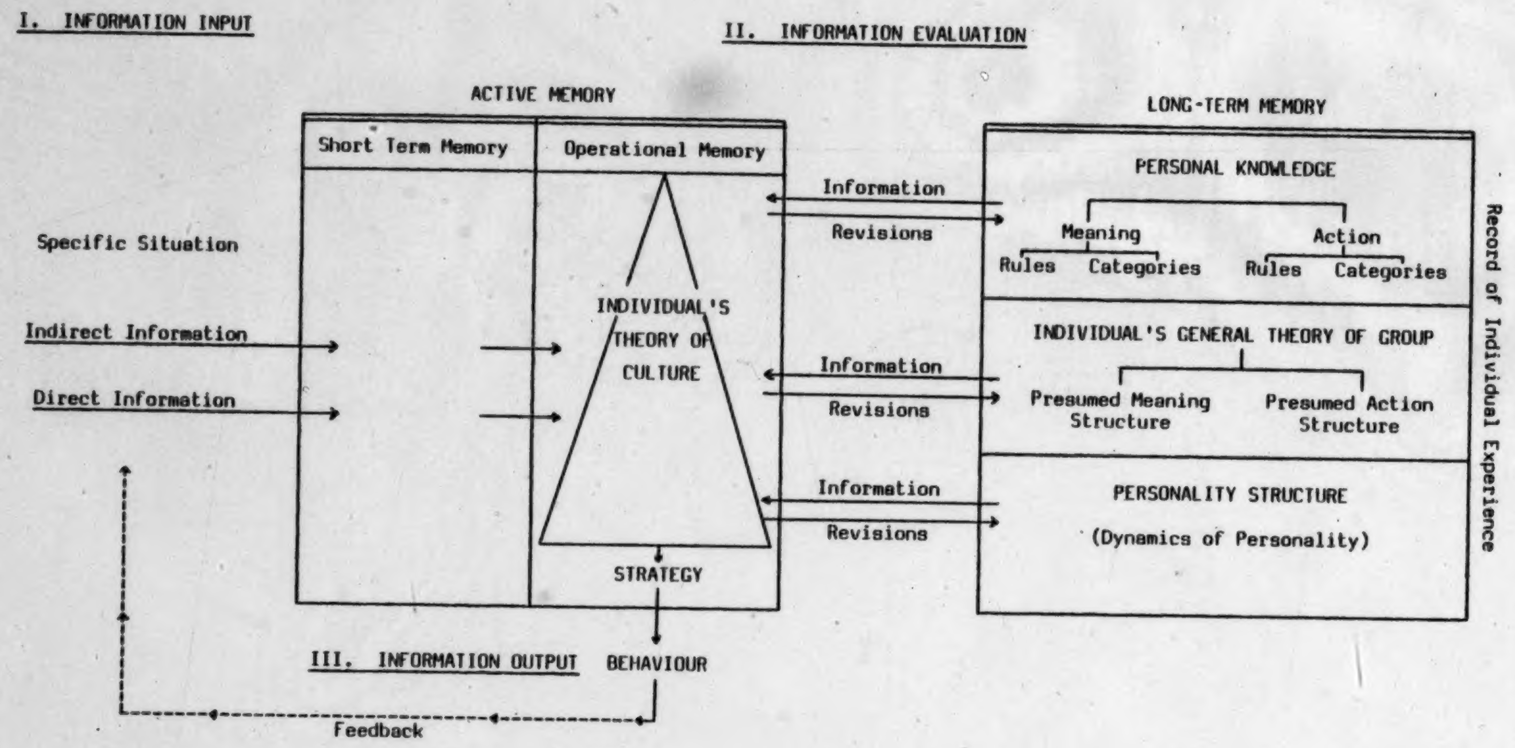

Figure 10. Information processing model.

I. Information input. Exposure to an environment results in perception: the translation of outside information into inside information. The physiological process of transmitting this information from its external origin to the final mental image involves several transformations (Sokolov, 1977; Spradley, 1972). These transformational stages occur in the following sequence:

(i)	External Stimulus: ▼	an external energy source in the form of an object or event, e.g., the passage of air through the larnyx causing tensed vocal cords to vibrate.
(ii)	Stimulus Channel: ▼	the medium (stimulus) connecting the external stimulant (energy source) to the individual, e.g., amplitude and frequency variations in air pressure.
(iii)	Sense Organ: ▼	the individual's stimulus receptor or sensor, e.g., ear.
(iv)	Neural Impulse: ▼	electro-chemical conveyance from sensor to brain by synaptic transmitters.
(v)	Brain State: ▼	the action of the synaptic transmitter on specific membrane receptors.
(vi)	Percept:	information is encoded through the synthesis of D.N.A. directed proteins. Phenomenologically speaking, the individual experiences a sound.

Information input is subdivided into direct experience and indirect experience. Direct experience consists of that information which an individual acquires as the result of direct contact between himself and a referent object, e.g., participation in/observation of an object or event. Indirect experience refers to those learning situations wherein information about a referent is derived through indirect contact such as verbal reports, e.g., gossip, second-hand information, magazines, etc. The rationale for this division is that it reflects a basic fact of the urban life experience. That is, for the greater portion of their lives individuals tend to operate in repetitive situations characterized by a high degree of cognitive familiarity gained through direct experience. However, when these individuals interact on the periphery or outside this zone, that interaction is based on indirect information which may or may not be accurate. Thus, the dichotomy between direct and indirect experience becomes particularly salient when one is concerned with the social dynamics of marginal subgroups. For example, members of the Rebels M.C. must not only be acutely aware of but be able to manipulate favourably, or conversely, cope with the dangers of a highly misinformed public stereotype that underlies contact with outsiders.

II. Information evaluation. The procedures whereby the sensory messages received through perception eventually inform behaviour have been divided into three stages: (1) activation of relevant past experience; (2) concept formation; and (3) strategy formation.

(1) Activation of Past Experience - The cumulative effect of an individual's past experiences is recorded in his personality structure and in his store of individual knowledge in long-term memory. Both of these resources are brought to bear by the individual on the evaluation of information input, concept formation, and strategy formation.

The individual's personality structure refers to the dynamic relationship among personality traits, personality components (such as ego and superego), defence mechanisms, and all the other analytic constructs which psychologists use to describe the "psychological screen" (Wallace, 1961) individuals erect to help process incoming information and embue it with a personal interpretation. In other words, information processing always includes an emotive or motivational element.

An individual's past experiences are also sorted, classified, and stored in a way that allows specific information to be quickly brought to bear upon the evaluation of a problem requiring a solution. Information of this sort is referred to as the individual knowledge. Individual knowledge is subdivided for purposes of this study into (a) personal knowledge and (b) the individual's general theory of the group.

(a) Personal knowledge is comprised of the individual's rules and categories for the attribution of meaning and the generation of behaviour.

Meaning - Individuals acquire a repertoire of categories of meaning which enables them to classify and thereby give meaning to their experience in accordance with certain rules of categorization.

Attribution of Meaning

Categories of Meaning
- categories which are used to sort out and classify experience

Rules of Meaning
- rules which guide the classification process by determining why one choice is made as opposed to another, e.g., object is an X by virtue of attribute Y.

Action - Individuals acquire a repertoire of categories of action which enables them to construct plans of action to achieve certain goals in accordance with certain rules of action.

Organization of Behaviour
- Categories of Action
  - categories of plans of action for the achieving of certain goals.
- Rules of Action
  - rules of customary behaviour which serve to structure categories of action in an appropriate manner.

Personal knowledge, comprised of the totality of these rules and categories for the processing of information and the organization of behaviour, can be considered as a cultural grammar in that it is generative. That is, insofar as the rules for utilizing one's repertoire of categories of meaning and action are recursive, new responses can be generated by recombining old interpretive/behavioural elements to meet the demands of novel situations. The implication for variation is that while social forces may limit the range of allowable behaviour - the matrix of possible combination of elements - the actual combination *chosen* is open-ended. This separation of competence from performance is analogous to that drawn in linguistics; it serves to mitigate any simple stimulus-response approach toward socialization, and emphasizes the individual as a decision maker.

(b) *The individual's general theory of group* consists of two components: (1) presumed meaning structure - the individual's conception of what other (reference group) members know of, believe in, or mean; and (2) presumed action structure - the individual's conception of how other (reference group) members would, should, and do act. The purpose of separating an individual's personal knowledge from his theory of group is to make explicit the fact that an individual's game plan need not necessarily be integrated with or reflect what he considers to be the group standard. The traditional normative approach assumed an isomorphic relationship between the individual and social expectations/sanctions. However, it is vital to recognize that the individual can go beyond the propriety of "proper" behaviour and engage in explicitly improper but "smart" behaviour (Freilick, 1971). Such innovations, if accepted and incorporated on the basis of their utilitarian value, result in social change. The dichotomy between personal knowledge and theory of group accommodates both the influence of social norms and the active manipulation of those norms by individuals, and thereby avoids either an "oversocialized" or "undersocialized" concept of man (Boldt, 1979).

Information in long-term memory constitutes a relatively static structure. This information by itself is not sufficient to guide or interpret behaviour but rather must be combined with new incoming information in the active memory. During the activation process only information pertinent to the immediate problem-solving situation is retrieved. Subsequent on-the-spot modifications of the rules and categories in long-term memory take place in order to accommodate specific situational demands. That is, no matter how specific or general the cultural rule its application is always unique. As a result of these revisions, information fed into the active memory, i.e., retrieved personal knowledge and operational theory of group, need not necessarily be either a duplication or reflection of the information that was stored as individual knowledge in long-term memory, i.e., personal knowledge and general theory of group. Traditional approaches in "culture and personality" asseverated the categorical importance of early (childhood) cultural experience leading to a typical personality, e.g., configurational, modal, or basic. However, in light of this feedback system, contemporary approaches have shifted the emphasis in the causal analysis of behaviour from spatiotemporally remote variables to proximate ongoing experience. The implication for inter-member variation is that basic repertoires are continually elaborated upon and changed in terms of later experience, with the latitude of behavioural alternatives increasing with the range of individual experience.

(2) Concept Formation - The dynamic structuring of information within active memory which, according to Posner (1973) was divided, for analytic purposes, into two parts: (i) short-term memory where incoming sensory information is temporarily stored from a matter of milli seconds to twenty-four hours, and (ii) the operational memory where information activated from long-term memory is used to evaluate incoming information (held in short-term memory). Following Lindsay and Norman (1972), and Spradley (1972), the sequence of operations leading to concept formation involves:

a) Perception (see information input above) - sensory analysis of an external object or event

b) Abstraction - feature analysis which leads to the isolation of significant attributes of the object or event

c) Categorization - classification process whereby the object or event is identified (labelled) in terms of its significant attributes

d) Concept Formation - synthesis process whereby information about the object or event is integrated with previous knowledge in terms of relation concepts such as part-whole, function, means-end.

Concept formation occurs in the operational memory and involves four dimensions of meaning:

1) Situational dimension of meaning: those structural contingencies perceived by the individual as being relevant to the immediate situation.
2) Motivational dimension of meaning: those aspects of personality structure and psychological screen (discussed above) that an individual brings into a decision making situation. These aspects are not included under long-term memory storage insofar as it would not make sense to put elements that are dynamic, such as defence mechanisms, or behaviour style, under individual knowledge which is, in effect, a repertoire of information.
3) Personal dimension of meaning: those informational units - rules and categories of meaning and action - which are retrieved as part of the individual's personal knowledge. This precedent knowledge would include rules, goals, and plans of action.
4) Group dimension of meaning: the operational theory of group - comprised of the presumed meaning structure and presumed action structure - that the individual employs as a group reference, e.g., how would other members of the (reference) group interpret or react to this situation.

The informational input from these four dimensions of meaning is integrated within the operational memory. The dynamic structuring of this information takes place in terms of contingent rules and categories of meaning and action which are formulated in reference to the exigencies of a specific situation. The conceptual organization of these four dimensions of meaning can be referred to as the individual's Theory of Culture.

The concept-formation stage of information processing presents two further implications for the phenomenon of intermember variation.

(i) Processual versus Static - The individual's theory of culture is never simply a matter of operationalizing his individual/cultural knowledge. The individual's theory of culture is a dynamic, conceptual organization which accommodates background variables - motivational and situational - that do not come into play until required by a particular situation. Cognitive anthropologists (ethnoscientists) as a whole have largely limited themselves to the study of cognition as a social code. Conceptually this social code is equated to culture. In their analyses of this social code ethnoscientists distinguish between taxonomies of meaning and taxonomies of action. However, both of these are part of an individual's long-term memory store, and as such, they are relatively static. Such a conceptualization of culture in effect avoids the vagaries of decision making, i.e., cognition as a mental process. A more meaningful distinction would be between a repertoire consisting of a range of alternatives in relationship to a series of relevant variables and stored as raw material in individual knowledge, and a strategy which is devised in relationship to a total empirical situation. Very succintly, taxonomies of action are not equivalent to strategies. The implication for inter-member variation is that insofar as strategy formation is open ended, rules are not merely being used reflexively but are continually being changed, replaced, discarded, etc. As the reality of a decision making situation involves a series of ongoing contingencies, the significance of the individual as decision maker is paramount. Viewed in this manner the individual is not merely a passive carrier or generator of culture; rather, he is in addition an active creator of culture.

(ii) Multivariate versus Univariate - The individual theory of culture involves the dynamic structuring of information from four different dimensions. Causal priority cannot be assumed for any of the elements. The relationship between these elements is one of mutual feedback or systemic reciprocity; the process of their integration becomes one of negotiation. Given the complexity of the variables involved, it is highly unlikely that an individual's theory of culture is going to correspond or be identical to that of any other person.

(3) Strategy Formation - The direct link between cognition and behaviour. An individual's strategy is the result of the dynamic structuring of information in the individual theory of culture. It is the derived hypothesis of meaning/action which the individual will test by operationalizing his strategy in the form of concrete verbal and/or non-verbal behaviour.

Chapter 17

COVERT INFLUENCE OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP UPON PERSONAL SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES

Equating group boundaries to group structure involves a fallacious assumption: that all elements of group control or influence are embedded in the social structure. This assumption prevents consideration of those effects of group affiliation that carry over into areas of personal behaviour. Specifically, a gap can occur between group effect measured in terms of the processes of social structure (participation in institutional and collective activities) and group effect measured in terms of how members subjectively experience that group (the influence of membership on how an individual organizes and relates to his social environment as a whole). The individual's theory of group - presumed action and meaning structure - is introduced as the intervening variable that enables the impact of group affiliation on decision making processes to extend beyond both formally organized and collective activities, into the area of what would otherwise be considered personal behaviour.

It is here proposed that presumed behaviour can affect an individual's behaviour to the extent that "knowledge" of how other members would interpret/react to a situation consciously, or unconsciously, influences his response or perceived range of possible plans of action. That is, presumed behaviour becomes a mechanism of group influence when an individual, entering a situation with certain goals in mind, is influenced in his choice of action by what he presumes others would interpret as appropriate behaviour.

It is when members use their concept of presumed behaviour as a guideline to personal behaviour that Informal Control results. Specifically, informal control occurs when an individual employs his theory of group - his notion of presumed behaviour - as a reference in negotiating appropriate behaviour in decision making situations occurring outside the context of formal group or aggregate activity, wherein he is not accountable to either formal group regulations or sanctions by members.

When presumed behaviour acts as a guideline to non-group structured situations we can speak of informal control as opposed to normative control. Group participation leads to the formation of the individual's theory of group, which in turn can function as a reference for the individual's personal identity, e.g., it may provide a number of central values. These values, while formed in the context of club participation, need not be restricted to club activities in their influence. In this way presumed behaviour provides information on how to act outside formal club activities. This form of group effect is a manifestation of the relationship of mutual influence that exists between the group dimension of meaning and the motivational (psychological) dimension of meaning.

Group Dimension ←——— Motivational Dimension
of Meaning ———→ of Meaning

By influencing personal learning beyond social learning (informal control), the theories of group that individual members have can lead to the formation of Informal Social Borders. These informal social borders are a result of more than one member bringing similar perspectives into areas of non-club behaviour, resulting in overlapping behavioural responses. The (i) nature of this process expressed in terms of the contingencies upon which it rests, and (ii) the empirical data necessary to substantiate its occurrence, are summarized below and outlined in Figure 11.

There are four contingencies involved in presumed behaviour leading to the generation of informal social borders. First, group participation (formal and collective activities) may lead to shared knowledge (formal group culture). Second, this shared knowledge (formal group culture) may lead to similar knowledge being applied to areas of personal behaviour (informal cultural boundaries). Third, similar knowledge being applied to areas of personal behaviour (informal cultural boundaries) may lead to overlapping responses in areas of personal behaviour (informal social boundaries).

Presumed behaviour facilitating the generation of informal social borders became evident in observations of the Rebels Motorcycle Club. This process is systematically examined in terms of the above-mentioned criteria for a particular domain of behaviour: economic subsistence. First, an introduction by way of "field observations" and a brief overview of the more detailed findings and conclusions that are to follow would appear in order.

In the formation of informal social boundaries, cultural themes that dominate the Rebels Motorcycle Club ethos - internalized as part of the individual's theory of group - become guidelines for

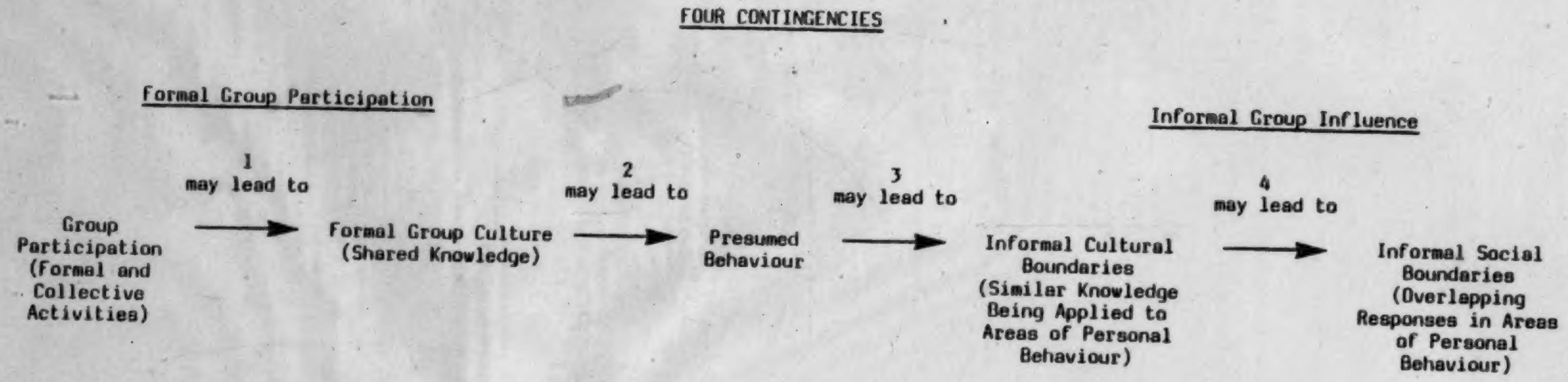
FOUR CONTINGENCIES
Formal Group Participation
Informal Group Influence
1
may lead to
2
may lead to
3
may lead to
4
may lead to
Group Participation (Formal and Collective Activities)
Formal Group Culture (Shared Knowledge)
Presumed Behaviour
Informal Cultural Boundaries (Similar Knowledge Being Applied to Areas of Personal Behaviour)
Informal Social Boundaries (Overlapping Responses in Areas of Personal Behaviour)

Figure 11. Presumed behaviour and the generation of informal social borders.

personal decision making. With respect to group participation, there are a number of club activities whose performance both demands and symbolizes certain personal qualities for the members. Being a member of an "outlaw" club includes: "riding hard" and "drinking heavy" while avoiding "dying fast"; adventurous long bike tours whose destinations are decided "when we get there"; being a reliable "brother" to fellow members whenever and however possible; being a responsible "patch holder" in terms of the maintenance of the club; handling threats to the club and its members by themselves; showing "class" by remaining cool in high risk situations, exhibiting a minimum of anxiety or concern yet a maximum of control; coping with surveillance and harassment from police officials: "I'm a member of the Rebels . . . we expect a tough time from the Police . . ." (Steve, Rebels M.C.); while "keeping your ass out of jail." In their form and content these activities symbolize freedom, masculinity, adventure, and brotherhood. At the same time they require that members display at least minimal degrees of independence, daring, machismo, resourcefulness, and pride in self and club. That Rebels display these qualities becomes part of the standard of behaviour that group members impute to, and expect of, one another, and which, on occasion, made public: "Some guys may join this club as boys, but by the time they leave they're every inch a man" (Wee Albert, Rebels M.C.)

The impetus for members of an outlaw club to perform in terms of these standards is not so much a matter of maintaining conformity through the threat of sanctions as it is establishing commitment through the process of identification. These group standards are reified for the members and transmitted to initiates during the striking period, where commitment - "love for the club" - is subject to the process of normative selection. The following excerpt illustrates the reification of group standards of commitment and reveals the mechanics of normative selection which are operative in the Satans Choice Motorcycle Club:

> Well we were an outlaw club but that doesn't mean that we went looking for trouble. But when it came, we didn't back down from it. Like myself, Stu and Mack, we went down to Rochdale, this university complex in Toronto. It was a big drug dealing center in Toronto. We went in there and we came out with a bit of hash. We were walking down an alley and there were these five Italians. Complete fucking greaseballs. Like they slid down the street, they didn't walk. And they say: "Well, here are the Satans Choice. We should beat the fuck out of them!" They came at us, one of them grabbed a two by four. Stu took away the two by four and we beat them. They could have been dead for all we know. We didn't have time to find out cause the sirens began and we hit the road. And we had this striker with us. And while we were there fighting like fucking cats and dogs this fucker stood back and looked at us. When we got back to the clubhouse, Stu said: "You fucker! Get out of the building. Either you get out or I'll drag you out. If you're in a fight with us it's all for one and one for all. If we're getting the shit kicked out of us you get in there and get the shit kicked out of you. You're no fucking bloody special!" Stu took that poor fucker outside and he beat the supreme shit out of him. Stu left him lying outside the clubhouse. When we came out the next morning, he was gone (Gypsy, Satans Choice M.C.)

To the extent that commitment to the club results in these group-based traits being incorporated as focal points around which a member organizes his self-identity, a personal dimension is added to their range of influence.

Under these conditions the individual's theory of group, made up of the action and meaning structure he attributes to others, provides a context of meaning - information on how and why to act - that can be applied to non-group behaviour. With respect to job selection by members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, the influence the individual theory of culture had on personal knowledge became apparent in the formation of informal cultural boundaries. Specifically, being a member of the Rebels Motorcycle Club was found to predispose a significant number of the members' perceived range of job choice, i.e., their potential plans of action. Overlapping perspectives on the viability of certain types of jobs resulted in members' actual job choices falling within a limited range. Actual job choice was "limited" in the sense that none of the Rebels M.C. members employed subsistence strategies that they presumed other members would not themselves be predisposed to utilize. For example, six of the six members formally interviewed shared an explicit understanding that being a mechanic would be a valued economic activity while being a store clerk would not be; attending university was considered a waste of time while attending a technological institute was endorsed as a credible option; the propsect of being a truck driver was evaluated positively while being a transit driver was evaluated negatively and so forth. These informal cultural boundaries were furthermore manifest in the like reasons or underlying rationale that members gave for their reaction to certain job choices. For example, the prospect of being a store clerk was responsed to negatively by all six members questioned, for very similar reasons: "A man can't take pride in his work. It's a demeaning job" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.); "It's nine to five. There's no challenge" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.); and "Too much of an ass-kissing job, I guess" (Steve, Rebels M.C.).

This same value orientation was in turn attributed to other members in terms of presumed behaviour. That is, the six test subject members had overlapping concepts of how other Rebels would respond if given those same job choices. In conjunction with the job choice questions, members were asked: Do you feel that other members of the Rebels M.C. would be store clerks? "I can't see it" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.), "Nope" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.), "No for certain!" (Steve, Rebels M.C.). The subsequent informal social border became apparent in the findings that (i) eighteen (75%) of the twenty-four members of the Rebels M.C. were employed at jobs that were evaluated positively by all six test members, and (ii) only three (12.5%) of the members held jobs that were evaluated negatively by more than one of the six test members. In addition, other economic factors were observed to demonstrate significant degrees of overlap as well. Fifteen (62.5%) of the twenty-four members did not work during the summer months, and none of the six Rebels who took the formal questionnaire considered their present mode of employment as permanent, nor did they presume that other members did either.

These situations of cognitive (cultural) and behavioural (social) overlap occurred despite the fact that the domain of economic sobsistence was not officially recognized, or collectively enforced, as an area of club control. In effect, job choice was neither a matter of official club jurisdiction or of concern to other members: "There's rarely any talk about work. It's not really that important . . . . What a guy does? Well, that's up to the individual eh" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.). "They don't talk about jobs that much, that's personal" (Larry, Rebels M.C.). However, informal control became apparent in terms of a correlation between members' personal job preference, how they felt other members would react if given that same job choice, and the range of subsistence strategies actually engaged in by members.

Research Strategy

In order to substantiate an instance of informal control, it is necessary to demonstrate the presence of five minimal criteria:

1. Overlapping behavioural responses on the part of members.
   - establish the presence of social borders
2. That those overlapping responses occur in an area of behaviour not subject to normative influence.
   - establish social borders as informal
3. That individual members have similar concepts of what other members do, or would do.
   - establish presence of overlap in presumed behaviour
4. That members share a common interpretation of behaviour situations.
   - establish presence of informal culture
5. A correlation between a given member's response and his concept of what other members do, or would do.
   - establish presumed behaviour as the intervening variable between formal group participation and the generation of informal social borders.

The methodological procedure that was adopted involved two levels of analysis: individual and group. Level 1, or individual analysis, approaches the question of whether or not informal control is effective. To what extent are individual members acting in accordance with what they feel others would do? Level 2, or group analysis, approaches the question of whether or not effective informal control results in informal cultural boundaries and informal social boundaries. To what extent do informal borders emerge as artifacts of shared knowledge and behaviour? Distinguishing the individual level of analysis from the group level allows for the possibility of informal control being operational but not necessarily productive of informal social and cultural boundaries. Individual members may act in accordance with how they feel others would react, yet due to a discrepancy between members' presumed behaviour concepts - individuals have different ideas about how others would react - divergent models are employed as cognitive and behavioural guidelines. This combination of factors would be tantamount to a situation wherein informal control is effective but inaccurate. The nature of this contingent relationship is outlined below and in Figure 12.

Level 1 — *If* each individual operates in terms of a model that he feels is consistent with his presumed behaviour construct,

and if there is overlap between individual members' theory of group culture

then

▼

Level 2 — To the extent that the presumed group culture is both effective (operationalized) and accurate (shared), the reality of group culture in an informal situation will be established.

I. Establish Behavioural Domain as Informal

The initial task of this study was to establish a behavioural domain as being informal in nature. The domain of behaviour selected for examination was that of economic subsistence, in particular, how members supported themselves. It became necessary then to demonstrate that group effect (if any) on this subsystem of members' knowledge and behaviour was not the result of normative control. Several questions relevant to this issue were asked of the six members who participated in the formal interview.

The first of these questions enquired as to the existence of any institutionalized or formal club rules:

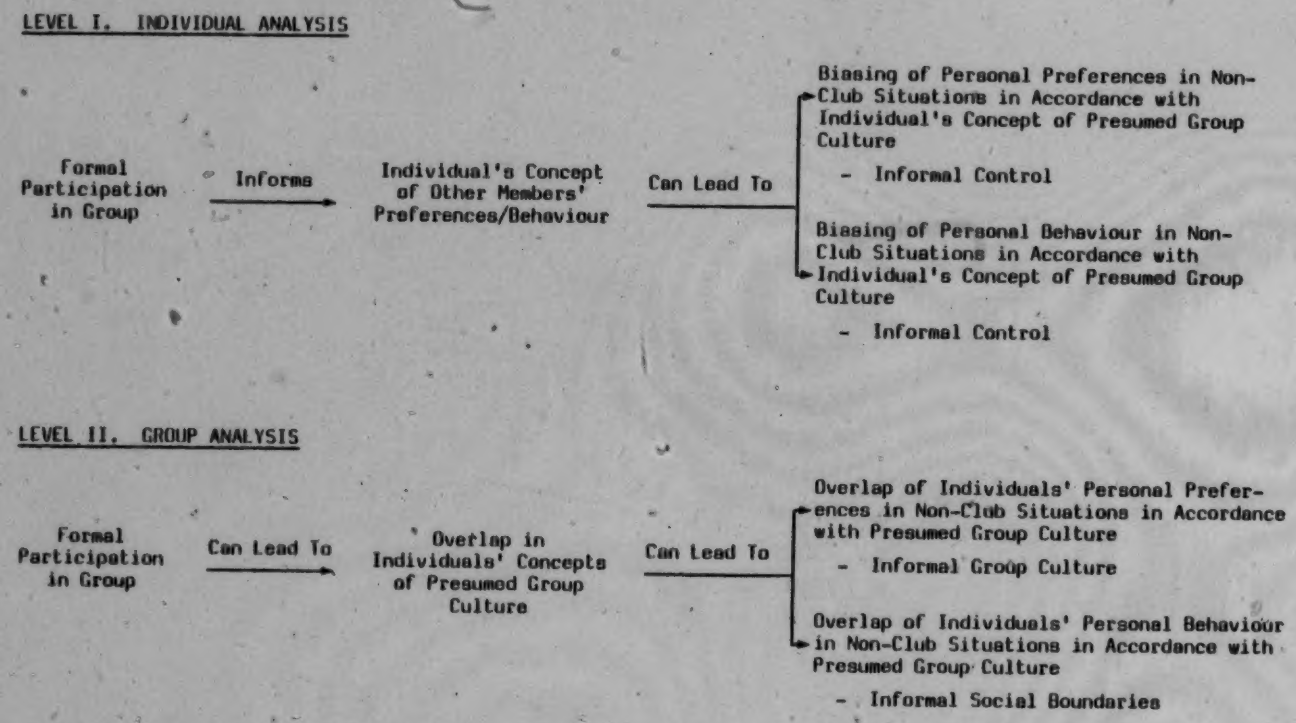
LEVEL I. INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS
Formal Participation in Group
Informs
Individual's Concept of Other Members' Preferences/Behaviour
Can Lead To
Biasing of Personal Preferences in Non-Club Situations in Accordance with Individual's Concept of Presumed Group Culture
- Informal Control
Biasing of Personal Behaviour in Non-Club Situations in Accordance with Individual's Concept of Presumed Group Culture
- Informal Control
LEVEL II. GROUP ANALYSIS
Formal Participation in Group
Can Lead To
Overlap in Individuals' Concepts of Presumed Group Culture
Can Lead To
Overlap of Individuals' Personal Preferences in Non-Club Situations in Accordance with Presumed Group Culture
- Informal Group Culture
Overlap of Individuals' Personal Behaviour in Non-Club Situations in Accordance with Presumed Group Culture
- Informal Social Boundaries

Figure 12. Individual and group level analysis.

III 14. Are there any club rules related to making money or getting a job?

- (i) Good or bad jobs?
- (ii) Good or bad ways of making money?
- (iii) When one works or should work?
- (iv) The influence of (i), (ii) or (iii) on club participation?

The complete responses given by members are recorded in Appendix A, question III 14. These responses are summarized in terms of a "yes" or "no" format in Table 2. According to these members there were no formal rules related to (i) good or bad jobs, (iii) when one works or should work, or (iv) the influence of the aforementioned on club participation. There was, however, a club rule regarding (ii) good or bad ways of making money: "If you're selling dope, you don't do it as a club member, you don't wear your color, you don't wear your (club) tee-shirt" (Steve, Sergeant-at-Arms, quoting Rebels Motorcycle Club Book of Rules). Historically this rule was initiated in order to protect club members from the increased police surveillance that would come about as a result of a club member being arrested for selling narcotics.

> We have a ruling that you don't sell drugs at all, if at all possible . . . we had one member get busted for just selling hash, for which he went to jail . . . two weeks, a month, two months after that it seemed like everybody and his dog was being picked up and checked for dope. Because if one member had it everybody else has to. Something like that is what brings up a ruling such as . . . don't sell any drugs (Ken, President, Rebels M.C.).

With respect to sanction expectation regarding this rule: "If you get caught selling drugs in the club well that's it . . . you'd be fired right out of the club . . . . It's happened before" (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

The Rebels Motorcycle Club are a highly visible group with a

Table 2

Presence of Club Regulations Related to the Subsistence Strategies of Members

	Are there any club rules related to:	Ken	Caveman	Steve	Blues	Larry	Raunch
(i)	Good or bad jobs? 6 No 0 Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
(ii)	Good or bad ways of making money? 1 No 5 Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
(iii)	When one works or should work? 6 No 0 Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
(iv)	The influence of (i), (ii), or (iii) on club participation? 6 No 0 Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No

very negative public stereotype. These two factors make them a highly saleable news item. The stories that result from overenthusiastic journalism results in public indignation which, in turn, places pressure on the police to respond. The situation is such that the above chain of events can be set into motion without members actually selling drugs. For example, during the summer of 1975, Armand was sold some poor quality marijuana. Armand was none too pleased at having his "Mexican gold" turn out to be Safeway's oregano, and he subsequently laid a beating on the two pushers. The two pushers sought revenge and broke into Armand's apartment with a shotgun and a rifle. As the front door was broken down, Armand dove behind the livingroom couch and avoided most of the shotgun blast. He had the presence of mind to grab his shotgun from the wall and fire towards the doorway. Armand was hospitalized for several days; the two pushers were later arrested and charged with attempted murder. The entire incident was an individual affair, and had nothing to do with the Rebels Motorcycle Club per se. However, for the Edmonton Journal, it was an opportunity to inform the public of a shootout between "rival gangs":

> MAN SHOT IN GANGS' MEETING
>
> Police said Armand ______ has wounds on his head and shoulders and his condition is not considered serious.
>
> Shortly after 1 a.m. police say, two rival gangs met in the neighbourhood; some gang members were armed with shotguns and high powered rifles (Edmonton Journal, October 30, 1975).

As a result there was increased police "surveillance," and members did not ride the streets without expectations of "drawing the heat": "I was pulled over two times just coming from my house to the party. All because Armand wants to know how it feels to be a fucking Mallard (duck) during hunting season" (Steve, Rebels M.C.). Thus, the only institutionalized or official rule related to making money or getting a job is, if one is selling dope, one does not do it as a member of the club (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules). This ruling is not directed against the usage of drugs as such, for at club activities reefers were passed around with the same frequency as beers. Rather, this rule is a specific expression of a more general expectation that no one will do anything to jeopardize the club:

> No there isn't too much that would influence personal activities. Some of the rules are, let's say, not to cause trouble in the bar. These are *rules that everybody outside of the club would normally live by* . . . anything that's going to cause trouble for the club you don't do . . . but you *don't even have to read the rule to know that* (Ken, President, Rebels M.C.). (Emphasis mine).

Thus, Raunch deviates from the others with respect to whether or not there are rules related to good or bad ways of making money - he gives a "no" response (Table 2). Yet he conforms in terms of both his perceived personal behaviour - when asked later whether he would deal in dope/marijuana, his response was "yes," and his underlying rationale: "There are a lot of reasons. I don't like the people doing it in the first place. And there's the hazards of the job, you know. Plus it brings a bad name to the club" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.).

The second question enquired as to whether the domain of economic subsistence, job choice, was subject to collective sanctions by members. The specific question was:

III 15. What aspects of making money do members generally talk about?

(i) Good or bad jobs?
(ii) Good or bad ways of making money?
(iii) When one works or should work?
(iv) The influence of (i), (ii) or (iii) on club participation?

The complete responses given by members are recorded in Appendix A, question III 15. These responses are summarized in terms of a "yes" or "no" format in Table 3. Table 3 reveals twelve "yes" responses. The question was whether or not these responses indicated a situation of either formal control (external sanction expectation), or collective behaviour.

With respect to formal control the six yes responses to part (iv) of question III 15 and the two yes responses to part (iii) of question III 15 revolve around the issue of minimal participation on the part of members in club activities. In particular, how one makes money, or one's job, becomes subject to discussion if a member uses it as an excuse for not meeting members' expectations regarding club obligations:

> Well look if you're working all these hours, and you're putting time into the club, well that's fine. But if he isn't putting time into the club it's not helping the club any. But you know, maybe he doesn't realize this. I'd talk to him about something like that (Larry, Rebels M.C.).

> If a guy is working three different jobs and you never see him, well he only needs two of those jobs (Steve, Rebels M.C.).

However, it should be noted that any commitment that hinders a member's performance will be talked about, from the maintenance of one's motorcycle to an overly possessive old lady. Thus, while a member's initial reaction to the question of there being any talk between members about making money/job - part (i) - might be: "No. There's rarely any talk about work. It's not really that important" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.), anything that results in non-participation - part (iv) - will be: "Yeah. But that's different. We discuss that sometimes. Like if a guy doesn't come around we want to know why, it doesn't really matter what the reason

Table 3

Aspects of Making Money or Getting Jobs That Members Generally Talk About

	Do members generally talk about:	Ken	Caveman	Steve	Blues	Larry	Raunch
(i)	Good or bad jobs? 5 No 1 Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
(ii)	Good or bad ways of making money? 3 No 3 Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
(iii)	When one works or should work? 4 No 2 Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
(iv)	The influence of (i), (ii), or (iii) on club participation? 0 No 6 Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

might be" (Ibid.). It should furthermore be pointed out that work is considered a legitimate reason for not attending group functions: "Like work is a valid excuse for not coming around" (Caveman, Rebels M.C.). Commenting on a hypothetical conflict situation which resulted in a one-or-the-other choice between being a Rebel and one's job, Larry stated: "Well I'd have to choose membership. But I don't see why membership (in the Rebels M.C.) should interfere with a job. But if it did I'd find myself another job" (Larry, Rebels M.C.). A similar situation of a member's expected primary commitment being to the club, and one's job being an area of personal behaviour, was apparent with another outlaw club, the Satans Choice Motorcycle Club, Brampton, Ontario:

> Myself: As a member of the Satans Choice, to what extent did they control your personal behaviour?
>
> Gypsy: It didn't.
>
> Myself: Let's say you wanted to get a job as a mechanic.
>
> Gypsy: It was up to you. They had nothing to do with that whatsoever. Your personal life, well the Choice was my whole life, let's put it that way. But if I wanted to go out and get a straight job, as long as I'm on time for meetings, runs, and stuff like that, that was my bag.
>
> Myself: As long as you participated in meetings, runs, parties, anything else goes?
>
> Gypsy: Well, the thing we looked at was that the club was the most important thing.

The Satans Angels Motorcycle Club of Vancouver, British Columbia, made specific allowance for job commitments in their "general rules": 2. If club calls a ride all members will attend. If a member is working, sick, bike not running, he will be excused (Rules and Regulations/Satans Angels M.C.). (Emphasis mine).

There were also three "yes" responses to part (ii) of question III 15, "Do members talk about good or bad ways of making money?" One of these affirmative responses concerns the formal rule regarding the selling of dope, discussed earlier. The other two "yes" responses refer to the presence of information exchange regarding "fast ways" of making money. However, this information is largely confined to the buying and selling of motorcycles and motorcycle parts. This type of information is part of the formal function of the club - a collective solution to the problem of maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs of being a biker: "Everybody has different ideas, buy things, repair things. Repair and sell them at a profit, mainly motorcycles" (Raunch, Rebels M.C.). "It's (talk about making money) always fixing up a motorcycle. Fixing up this motorcycle, sell it for that amount of money, and stuff like that" (Blues, Rebels M.C.).

The remaining "yes" response was that given by Blues (one out of six), to part (i) of question III 15, "Do members talk about good or bad jobs?" Blue's reply was: "Like in the sense of 'What the hell are you working there for, because it's no good?' Yeah, all the time. And that's where you wind up working for or with your brother sort of thing" (Blues, Rebels M.C.). In order to estimate the actual extent, if any, to which club members viewed other members as a potential collective solution to the problem of finding a job, question II A 13 (Appendix A), "Who would you contact if you needed a job?" was asked. Under normal circumstances, five of the six test subjects would deal with outside institutions, such as Canada Manpower or their professional union. The remaining member, a non-union worker who preferred both expediency and personal contact, would in all likelihood contact a club member:

> Probably some place where I know somebody that works there. Where there's an opening, something I can get on right away. I don't want to be filling out applications.

Question: It would probably be a club member?
Yeah, right.

Larry, Rebels M.C.

The actual number of members that worked either with or for other members was five. Ken and Steve owned Brother Custom Motorcycle Shop. Whimpy worked as a mechanic for Ken and Steve. Crash and Tiny worked together on the oil rigs. Five members constitute approximately twenty percent of the club.

In summary, the Rebels Motorcycle Club provides an institutional structure and a systematic network of interpersonal ties that is capable of satisfying the social needs of its members. The capacity to satisfy these social needs accentuates the process of group encapsulization and becomes evident in the conspicuous maintenance of well defined social borders. In response to question II B 20 (Appendix A), "Do you belong to any other voluntary groups: political, community, charity, recreational, religious, fraternal, or otherwise?", six out of six members responded "no." The Rebels Motorcycle Club, however, is not economically self-sufficient, and members must interact or affiliate with institutions outside of the club in order to support themselves. This dependence on the host community precludes the maintenance of economic boundaries. Thus, in response to question II B 21 (Appendix A), "Do you have any formal association with any other institution or organization, for example, academic, trade union, etc.?", five of six responded "yes." All five of these associations were in the domain of economics. The associations that the five members belonged to were the Alberta Small Businessmens' Association (two members), and various trade unions (three members). The sixth member was a non-union, unskilled labourer:

> I think that after this month I'll have to belong to the Teamsters Union. I work with Kaps (Transport Ltd.) and they are into the union now. So I'll have to join the union. Not by choice (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

In conclusion, while formal social boundaries can be maintained, strict economic boundaries cannot be. With respect to the issue of the presence or absence of formal control, individual members, according to the ideology of the club, are free to make their own job choice. The assessment is based on the fact that there are no formal rules or normative expectations regulating job choice; conversely, an economic commitment is accepted as an excuse for nonparticipation. Insofar as the domain of economic activities is not subject to formal control any clear aversion or preference towards certain job types is interpreted as a matter of informal influence.

II. Establish the Presence of Informal Cultural and Social Boundaries

A. Informal cultural boundaries. In order to establish the presence of informal cultural boundaries it is necessary to demonstrate that (i) members share a common knowledge, and (ii) that knowledge pertains to a domain of behaviour not subject to formal control. With respect to the absence of formal control, the domain of economics as represented by job choice was shown to be (a) free of normative constraints, (b) not part of an aggregate (club) response, with (c) a minimal number of members (three) involved in interpersonal (intermember) economic strategies - see part I, Establish Behavioural Domain as Informal. The question as to the presence of shared cultural knowledge is here resolved by determining whether or not members shared a common interpretation of job choice situations.

Culture as personal knowledge can be analyzed in terms of two basic epistemological frames: (1) the attribution of meaning, and (2) the organization of behaviour. These two basic dimensions of knowledge represent the end products of the fundamental process of human information processing or concept formation. This process is made up of the four sequential stages discussed above; perception, abstraction, categorization, and concept formation. The attribution of meaning (kinds of), and the organization of behaviour (how to), are the two major types of concept relationships. The formal questionnaire that was administered to the six test subjects contained questions attuned towards testing for sharing along these two basic dimensions of knowledge.

(1) Meaning - The first dimension of individual knowledge, the attribution of meaning, refers to rules and categories which are used to sort out and classify experience. This basically interpretive process is tantamount to attaching definitive attributes, such as qualities of physique (e.g., size-shape) or relation (e.g., cause-effect), to certain objects or events. Included in the formal questionnaire was a selection of thirty-two potential subsistence techniques: means by which members could make a living. The subjects taking the tests were asked to evaluate the subsistence techniques in terms of why, or why not, they would employ them. Members' evaluations of two subsistence techniques are presented here in order to illustrate the shared cultural meaning that became evident in members' responses to the formal questionnaire. The first set of data consists of members' comments on the possibility of being a store clerk - subsistence strategy number 16 -

which was evaluated negatively by all six test subject members:

Ken:	I don't think I'd like the idea of working for someone else. Steve and I make all the decisions here.
Caveman:	It's nine to five. There's no challenge.
Steve:	How, how, no! Too much of an ass-kissing job I guess.
Blues:	There would be no objections to it, but you might get a little harassment like, "Did you starch your colours today?" Not for me. You're always under someone's thumb. And you get fuck all for it.
Larry:	I wouldn't like the type of work. It's too clean. Seriously! I like getting dirty, get something done. Piling cans on shelves and smiling at customers in a smock is fucked.
Raunch:	A man can't take pride in his work, it's a demeaning job.

The second set of comments deal with the possibility of members owning their own business - subsistence strategy number 15 - which was evaluated positively by all six test subjects:

Ken:	I own one. It gives me a fair amount of money, I like that. I can take time off when I want. I like the challenges, you know, something new comes up every day. I handle them even though they're a bitch sometimes.
Caveman:	Depends on what it is. Question: What would it have to be? Related to bikes or such, welding, machinery. Like it couldn't be a shoe store or a fucking Chinese grocery.
Steve:	Oh yeah, I'd consider that. Maybe not again though. Maybe it's just been a bad day, too many hassles with these fucking accounts and parts ordering. But when you get right down to it, owning my own shop gives me the power to make my own scene.
Blues:	That'd be excellent. Except it takes a lot of time up (from the club). But if a member has his shit together he can always make out, and that's cool.
Larry:	Oh yeah, that's me. That'd be great eh? Own something by myself, get it going. Maybe get some brothers in on it.
Raunch:	Yeah, possibly a welding shop, or something to do with motorcycles. You know, doing what I like when I wanted.

In the above two examples, informal cultural boundaries became evident in the similar reasons, i.e., shared meaning that members gave for their reaction (positive or negative), to certain job choices.

(2) Behaviour - The second dimension of individual knowledge, the organization of behaviour, refers to rules and categories which are used to generate plans of action. The formal questionnaire addressed itself to the means-end aspect of the organization of behaviour. In particular, the test subjects were asked whether or not they would consider employing any of the proposed thirty-two subsistence strategies.

> While a member of the Rebels Motorcycle Club would you consider any of the following ways of making money/jobs?

The verbal behaviour replies are in effect a measurement of the degree of overlap in the members' perceived potential behaviour.

In measuring the overlap in personal behaviour choice, members' replies were gauged in terms of a "yes" response. Total overlap occurred when all six subjects agreed that a particular job choice was either undesirable (0 "yes" responses), or desirable (6 "yes" responses). Moderate overlap occurred when five of the six subjects agreed with respect to the desirability of a certain job choice (5 "yes" and 1 "no" responses, or 1 "yes" and 5 "no" responses). There was considered to be no or minor overlap if more than one person disagreed with the majority on the desirability of a particular job choice.

Number of Yes Responses

0	1	2 3 4	5	6
Total Overlap	Moderate Overlap	No or Minor Overlap	Moderate Overlap	Total Overlap

An example of the breakdown of personal behaviour choice by individual members for various subsistence strategies, and the subsequent calculation of degree of overlap, is provided by Table 4. A complete compilation

Table 4*

Breakdown of Personal Behaviour Choice in Terms of Individual Members

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE: Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE: Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
19. Welfare				X		
	Ken	x				
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch	x				
		2	4			
20. Money from "Old Lady"				X		
	Ken		x			
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch		x			
		4	2			
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			

* Extracted from Table 12, Appendix E.

for all thirty-two subsistence technique options is contained in Table 12, Appendix E.

In evaluating the results of the above calculations, no or minor overlap was considered as insignificant, moderate and total overlap was considered significant. The results can be summarized as follows:

Degree of Overlap	Number of Proposed Subsistence Techniques	Significance	Percentage of Total
No or Minor Overlap (<5/6)	6	Insignificant	18.75%
Moderate Overlap (5/6)	12	Significant	37.50%
Total Overlap (6/6)	14	Significant	43.75%

There is insignificant overlap (more than one of the six subjects disagreed) on six (18.75 percent) of the proposed subsistence strategies. There was significant overlap (at least five of the six subjects agreed) on twenty-six (12 + 14), or 81.25 percent (37.50 percent + 43.75 percent) of the proposed subsistence strategies. Table 5 provides a summary of the degree of overlap in members' personal behaviour choice. These results were interpreted as indicating a sig-substantial degree of overlap on the part of members with respect to the viability of proposed subsistence techniques. This overlap was in turn viewed as an instance of members applying similar knowledge, in the form of overlapping plans of action, to the behaviour domain of job choice. That is, the above results demonstrate the presence of informal cultural boundaries.

B. Informal social boundaries. In order to establish the presence of informal social boundaries it is necessary to demonstrate (a) overlapping behavioural responses on the part of members, and

Table 5*

Degree of Overlap in Members' Personal Behavioural Choice

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs	5	1		x	
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar	5	1		x	
3. Edmonton City Police	1	5		x	
4. Mechanic	6	0			x
5. Welder or Machinist	6	0			x
6. Pipefitter	5	1		x	
7. Teacher	2	4	x		
8. Unemployment Insurance	3	3	x		
9. Ice Cream Vendor	0	6			x
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber	4	2	x		
11. Mason	3	3	x		
12. Postman	1	5		x	
13. Autobody Repair Man	5	1		x	
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police	1	5		x	
15. Own Private Business	6	0			x
16. Store Clerk	0	6			x

Table 5

(Continued)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
17. Truck Driver	6	0			x
18. Transit Driver	0	6			x
19. Welfare	2	4	x		
20. Money from "Old Lady"	4	2	x		
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles	6	0			x
22. Motorcycle Theft	1	5		x	
23. Miscellaneous Theft	1	5		x	
24. Construction Worker	6	0			x
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)	5	1		x	
26. Sale of Hard Drugs	0	6			x
27. Sale of Marijuana	0	6			x
28. Ranching or Farming	1	5		x	
29. University Student	0	6			x
30. Technological Institute Student	6	0			x
31. Politician	0	6			x
32. Salesman	1	5		x	

* Extracted from Table 13, Appendix E.

that (b) these overlapping responses occur in a domain of behaviour not subject to formal control (see part I, Establish Behavioural Domain as Informal). The aspect of establishing overlapping behavioural responses involved compiling a list of the actual subsistence strategies employed by members. To this end each of the twenty-four members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club were asked what they did for a living. The following step was to assess to what degree the members' actual subsistence strategies correlated with the members' perceived potential range of subsistence strategies (documented in part II A (2) as part of the informal cultural boundaries).

The correlation was conducted by checking whether or not the actual subsistence techniques (social behaviour) employed by members fell within the range of perceived potential subsistence techniques (informal cultural boundaries). It was found that of the twenty-four members:

a) eighteen, or 75 percent, utilized subsistence strategies that were evaluated in a positive manner by all six test subjects (+6/6);

b) two, or 8.3 percent, held jobs that were evaluated in a positive manner by five of the six test subjects (+5/6);

c) three, or 12.5 percent, employed economic techniques that were evaluated in a positive manner by four of the six test subjects;

d) one, or 4.2 percent, held a job (i.e., butcher), which was not specifically mentioned in the thirty-two test options;

e) none of the members employed subsistence techniques that were evaluated negatively by more than two of the six test subjects.

The actual subsistence strategies employed by individual members along with the evaluation of those techniques by the six test subject members are documented in Table 6.

There are two conclusions that can be drawn from these findings. First, the results of this survey indicate a significant correlation between the positively evaluated subsistence strategies of the six test subjects and the actual subsistence strategies employed by members of the Rebels M.C. This correlation is viewed as a positive indication of the extent to which the sample group (of six) is representative of the club as a whole. That is, the study's findings are to an appreciable degree valid. Secondly, the extent to which members' actual subsistence strategies correlated with the positively evaluated subsistence technique options is interpreted as demonstrating the presence of informal social borders in the area of economic subsistence.

III. Establish Presence of Presumed Behaviour

In order to establish the presence of presumed behaviour as a shared group construct and not an idiosyncratic affair, it is necessary to demonstrate that individual members have similar concepts of what other members do, or would do, i.e., provide evidence of a shared presumed action structure. Within the context of the formal questionnaire, six members were asked whether or not they would consider employing any of thirty-two proposed subsistence strategies - personal action structure. These members were subsequently asked whether they felt that other members would, or would not, employ that same subsistence strategy-presumed action structure:

> Do you feel that other members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club would (employ proposed subsistence strategy)?

Table 6

Actual Subsistence Strategies Employed by Members

	Member	Actual Subsistence Strategy	Evaluation of Subsistence Strategy by Test Subjects	Full Time/ Seasonal
1.	Ken	Part Owner - Motorcycle Shop	+6/6	Full time
2.	Caveman	Truck Driver	+6/6	Seasonal
3.	Steve	Part Owner - Motorcycle Shop	+6/6	Full time
4.	Blues	Extrudiator (Plastics/Metal)	+6/6	Seasonal
5.	Larry	Auto Body Shop	+5/6	Full time
6.	Raunch	Welder	+6/6	Seasonal
7.	Gerry	House Construction (Foreman)	+6/6	Full time
8.	Mike	Truck Driver	+6/6	Seasonal
9.	Whimpy	Mechanic - Motorcycle Shop (N.A.I.T.)	+6/6	Seasonal
10.	Clayton	Carpenter	+4/6	Seasonal
11.	Snake	Labourer - Oil Rigs	+6/6	Seasonal
12.	Dale	Butcher	——	Full time
13.	Jim	Autobody Repairman	+5/6	Full time
14.	Onion	Labourer - Oil Rigs	+6/6	Seasonal
15.	Saint	Mechanic - Automotive Shop	+6/6	Full time
16.	Danny	Electrician	+4/6	Seasonal
17.	Yesnoski	Machinist	+6/6	Seasonal
18.	Voodo	Truck Driver	+6/6	Full time
19.	Armand	Labourer - Oil Refinery (N.A.I.T.)	+6/6	Seasonal
20.	Killer	Construction Worker	+6/6	Seasonal
21.	Crash	Labourer - Oil Rigs	+6/6	Seasonal
22.	Tiny	Labourer - Oil Rigs	+6/6	Seasonal
23.	Terrible Tom	Construction Worker (Heavy Equipment Operator)	+6/6	Seasonal
24.	Wee Albert	Pipefitter	+4/6	Full time

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+6/6	Member's actual subsistence strategy evaluated positively by all six test subjects.
+5/6	Member's actual subsistence strategy evaluated positively by five of the six test subjects.
+4/6	Member's actual subsistence strategy evaluated positively by four of the six test subjects.
——	Member's actual subsistence strategy was not specifically included among thirty-two test options.

The extent to which members agreed in their conception as to how other members would react was interpreted as an indication of whether or not members shared a common Theory of the Group (presumed action structure).

In measuring the overlap in presumed behaviour - presumed action structure - responses were gauged in terms of a "yes" or "no" response. Total overlap occurred when all six subjects agreed that other members would find a particular job choice undesirable (0 "yes" responses), or desirable (6 "yes" responses). Moderate overlap occurred when five of the six members agreed as to how other members would react (5 "yes" and 1 "no" responses, or 1 "yes" and 5 "no" responses). There was considered to be no or minor overlap if more than one person disagreed with the majority in his presumption of how other members would react.

Number of Yes Responses

0	1	2 3 4	5	6
Total Overlap	Moderate Overlap	No or Minor Overlap	Moderate Overlap	Total Overlap

An example of the breakdown of presumed behaviour by individual members for various subsistence strategies and the subsequent calculation of degree of overlap is provided in Table 7. A complete compilation for all thirty-two subsistence technique options is contained in Table 14, Appendix E.

In evaluating the results of the above calculations, no or minor overlap was considered as insignificant, moderate and total overlap was considered as significant. The results can be summarized as follows:

Degree of Overlap	Number of Proposed Subsistence Techniques	Significance	Percentage of Total
No or Minor Overlap	5	Insignificant	15.63%
Moderate Overlap	2	Significant	6.30%
Total Overlap	25	Significant	78.10%

Table 7*

Breakdown of Overlap in Member's Presumed Behaviour in Terms of Individual Members

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
19. Welfare			X		
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	2	4			
20. Money from "Old Lady"					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			

* Extracted from Table 14, Appendix E.

There was insignificant overlap (more than one of the six subjects disagreed), on five, or 15.63 percent, of the proposed subsistence strategies. There was significant overlap (at least five of the six subjects concurred), on twenty-seven, or 84.38 percent, of the proposed subsistence strategies. Table 8 provides a summary of the degree of overlap in members' presumed behaviour. These results were interpreted as indicating a highly significant degree of overlap on the part of members with respect to their entertaining similar notions of how other members would react - presumed action structure. This overlap was in turn interpreted as demonstrating the presence of a shared Theory of Group in the areas of economic subsistence.

IV. Establish Presumed Behaviour as the Intervening Variable Between Formal Group Participation and the Generation of Informal Social Borders

In order to establish presumed behaviour as the intervening variable between formal group participation and the generation of informal social borders, it is necessary to demonstrate a correlation between a member's personal behaviour choice and his concept of what others do, or would do. Members' personal behavioural responses were elicited in part II, Establish the Presence of Informal Cultural and Social Boundaries, when the six test subjects were asked whether or not they would consider employing any of the thirty-two proposed subsistence strategies. Members' concept of what others do, or would do, was documented in part III, Establish the Presence of Presumed Behaviour, when the test subjects were asked whether or not they felt other members would or would not employ the same subsistence strategy. The task for part IV is to gauge to what extent members' personal

Table 8*

Degree of Overlap in Members' Presumed Behaviour

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs	6	0			X
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar	3	3	X		
3. Edmonton City Police	0	6			X
4. Mechanic	6	0			X
5. Welder or Machinist	6	0			X
6. Pipefitter	6	0			X
7. Teacher	0	6			X
8. Unemployment Insurance	6	0			X
9. Ice Cream Vendor	0	6			X
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber	6	0			X
11. Mason	6	0			X
12. Postman	4	2	X		
13. Autobody Repair Man	6	0			X
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police	0	6			X
15. Own Private Business	6	0			X
16. Store Clerk	0	6			X

Table 8

(Continued)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
17. Truck Driver	6	0			X
18. Transit Driver	0	6			X
19. Welfare	2	4	X		
20. Money from "Old Lady"	6	0			X
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles	6	0			X
22. Motorcycle Theft	3	3	X		
23. Miscellaneous Theft	4	2	X		
24. Construction Worker	6	0			X
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)	6	0			X
26. Sale of Hard Drugs	0	6			X
27. Sale of Marijuana	1	5		X	
28. Ranching or Farming	1	5		X	
29. University Student	0	6			X
30. Technological Institute Student	6	0			X
31. Politician	0	6			X
32. Salesman	0	6			X

* Extracted from Table 15, Appendix E.

behaviour choice (personal action structure), corresponds with their concept of presumed behaviour (presumed action structure).

In measuring the extent of correspondence, total overlap was said to have occurred when all six members felt that their personal behaviour response was in agreement with what they felt other members do, or would do. Moderate overlap occurred when five of six members perceived correspondence between their personal choice and the presumed choice of others. There was considered to be no or minor overlap when more than one test subject felt that his personal behaviour choice differed from what he presumed other members would do.

Number of Responses Indicating Correspondence

0 1 2 3 4	5	6
No or Minor Overlap	Moderate Overlap	Total Overlap

An example of the diagnostic breakdown of the correspondence between personal behaviour choice and presumed behaviour is provided in Table 9. A complete compilation for all thirty-two subsistence technique options is contained in Table 16, Appendix E.

Rigorous standards are adopted in evaluating the above compilations. At least five of the six test subjects must correspond in their individual behaviour choice and their concept of presumed behaviour for the degree of correspondence to be interpreted as significant. Thus, no or minor overlap, (zero to 66.6 percent correspondence) is considered as insignificant; while moderate overlap (83.3 percent correspondence) and total overlap (100 percent correspondence) are considered as significant.

Table 9*

Breakdown of Correspondence Between Personal Behavioural Choice and Presumed Behaviour in Terms of Individual Members

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
19. Welfare						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
20. Money from "Old Lady"						
Ken		x	x			x
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch		x	x			x
					4	2

Table 9

(Continued)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
22. Motorcycle Theft						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch		x	x			x
					4	2

* Extracted from Table 16, Appendix E.

Corresponds	Contradicts	
0	6	Insignificant Correspondence (0.0%)
1	5	Insignificant Correspondence (16.6%)
2	4	Insignificant Correspondence (33.3%)
3	3	Insignificant Correspondence (50.0%)
4	2	Insignificant Correspondence (66.6%)
5	1	Significant Correspondence (83.3%)
6	0	Significant Correspondence (100.0%)

The degree of correspondence between personal behavioural choice and presumed behaviour is documented for each of the thirty-two subsistence strategies in Table 10. The overall test results can be summarized as follows:

Degree of Overlap	Number of Proposed Subsistence Strategies	Degree of Correspondence Considered
No or Minor Overlap (four or less test subjects, ≥ 66.6%, demonstrate correspondence)	9 (28.0%) of possible 32	Insignificant
Moderate Overlap (Five test subjects, 83.3%, demonstrate correspondence)	8 (25.0%) of possible 32	Significant
Total Overlap (Six test subjects, 100.0%, demonstrate correspondence)	15 (46.9%) of possible 32	Significant

The test results indicate that nine strategies (28 percent of total), are characterized by insignificant correspondence between members' personal behaviour choice and presumed behaviour. There is significant correspondence between members' personal behaviour choice and presumed behaviour for twenty-three (72 percent of total) of the proposed subsistence strategies. The correlation between personal

Table 10*

Degree of Correspondence Between Personal Behavioural Choice and Presumed Behaviour

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?		Degree of Overlap		
	Corresponds	Contradicts	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs	5	1		X	
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar	2	4	X		
3. Edmonton City Police	5	1		X	
4. Mechanic	6	0			X
5. Welder or Machinist	6	0			X
6. Pipefitter	5	1		X	
7. Teacher	4	2	X		
8. Unemployment Insurance	3	3	X		
9. Ice Cream Vendor	6	0			X
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber	4	2	X		
11. Mason	3	3	X		
12. Postman	3	3	X		
13. Autobody Repair Man	5	1		X	
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police	5	1		X	
15. Own Private Business	6	0			X
16. Store Clerk	6	0			X

Table 10

(Continued)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?		Degree of Overlap		
	Corresponds	Contradicts	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
17. Truck Driver	6	0			X
10. Transit Driver	6	0			X
19. Welfare	6	0			X
20. Money from "Old Lady"	4	2	X		
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles	6	0			X
22. Motorcycle Theft	4	2	X		
23. Miscellaneous Theft	3	3	X		
24. Construction Worker	6	0			X
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)	5	1		X	
26. Sale of Hard Drugs	6	0			X
27. Sale of Marijuana	5	1		X	
28. Ranching or Farming	6	0			X
29. University Student	6	0			X
30. Technological Institute Student	6	0			X
31. Politician	6	0			X
32. Salesman	5	1		X	

* Extracted from Table 17, Appendix E.

behaviour choice and presumed behaviour choice can alternatively be measured by calculating the percentage of correspondence. The formula for this alternative measuring technique becomes:

$$\text{Percentage of Correspondence} = \text{number of strategies where personal behaviour choice corresponded with presumed behaviour choice} \div \text{total number of strategy choices}$$

$$= \text{160 strategies where correspondence occurred} \div \text{192 strategy choices (6 members x 32 subsistence strategies)}$$

$$\text{Percentage of Correspondence} = 83.4\%$$

The above figures indicate a high degree of correspondence between members' personal behaviour choice and their presumed behaviour choice. This high degree of correspondence was interpreted as substantiating presumed behaviour as the intervening variable between formal groups participation and the creation of informal cultural and social boundaries. The overall test results are presented in Table 11.

Summary

I. The Concept of Informal Control: Origin, Purpose, and Significance

The concept of informal control is introduced in order to more fully account for the variety of influences that group affiliation, such as membership in an outlaw motorcycle club, is capable of having on its members. The theoretical underpinning for the concept of informal control rests upon the tenet that culture is a cognitive (mental) phenomenon and not a physical (material) phenomenon. A logical extension of this tenet is the premise that the individual, by virtue of his

Table 11*

Subsistence Strategies Displaying: 1) Total Overlap of Personal Behavioural Choice

2) Total Overlap of Presumed Behaviour 3) Total Correspondence

Between Personal Behavioural Choice and Presumed Behaviour

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL OVERLAP ON ALL THREE VARIABLES
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs		X		
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar				
3. Edmonton City Police		X		
4. MECHANIC	X	X	X	X
5. WELDER OR MACHINIST	X	X	X	X
6. Pipefitter		X		
7. Teacher		X		
8. Unemployment Insurance		X		
9. ICE CREAM VENDOR	X	X	X	X
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber		X		
11. Mason		X		
12. Postman				
13. Autobody Repair Man		X		
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police		X		
15. OWN PRIVATE BUSINESS	X	X	X	X
16. STORE CLERK	X	X	X	X

Table 11

(Continued)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL OVERLAP ON ALL THREE VARIABLES
17. TRUCK DRIVER	X	X	X	X
18. TRANSIT DRIVER	X	X	X	X
19. Welfare			X	
20. Money from "Old Lady"		X		
21. CUSTOMIZE/SELL MOTORCYCLES	X	X	X	X
22. Motorcycle Theft				
23. Miscellaneous Theft				
24. CONSTRUCTION WORKER	X	X	X	X
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)		X		
26. SALE OF HARD DRUGS	X	X	X	X
27. Sale of Marijuana	X			
28. Ranching or Farming			X	
29. UNIVERSITY STUDENT	X	X	X	X
30. TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE STUDENT	X	X	X	X
31. POLITICIAN	X	X	X	X
32. Salesman		X		

* Extracted from Table 18, Appendix E.

being the locus of learned behaviour and decision making, is also the locus of culture. The above premise serves as the basis for generating the hypothesis that culture is not merely a correlate of social structure nor is it inextricably limited to group participation. The validity of this hypothesis is tested by examining one of its major implications: the proposition that the behavioural effects of culture may reveal themselves outside obvious institutional and collective group forms. The individual's theory of group - presumed action and meaning structure - is introduced as the intervening variable that enables the impact of affiliation on decision making processes to extend beyond both formally organized and collective activities into the area of what would otherwise be considered as personal (non-group) behaviour. Informal control occurs when an individual employs his theory of group - his notion of presumed behaviour - as a reference for either the interpretation and/or generation of behaviour in a decision making situation that falls outside the jurisdiction of the group.

II. Empirical Evidence

A. Unobtrusive observations. Participation in, and observation of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, indicated the presence of both formal and informal group influence on members' personal (non-group) behaviour. An example of formal influence is the club regulation that stipulates that members will not be accompanied by their old ladies on Boys' Night Out (Thursday evenings), and that those old ladies will not be present at any public locations, such as bars, that members are known to frequent (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules). The fact of personal accountability was furthermore demonstrated when a member whose excessive drinking was seen as a threat to both his personal health and his reliability as a member. The individual was told to "go on the wagon till he dried out," which he subsequently did under the close scrutiny and with the moral support of his brothers. In addition to these instances of formal group control, group influence on personal behaviour that is of a more informal nature - independent of both group normative guidelines and external sanction expectation - became apparent on a variety of occasions. Caveman provides an example of such influence occurring in the area of personality modification. His commentary below is of additional interest insofar as the group effect on his behaviour style runs counter to the public stereotype of outlaw motorcycle clubs being limited in their influence to the fostering of sociopathic behaviour:

> I know if I wasn't a member of the club I'd be a lot more of an orangutang than I am now. I used to fight a lot. I mean I used to be in a scrap maybe four nights a week. I've settled down a lot. I feel better for it. I'm easier to get along with now (Caveman, Rebels M.C.).

B. Formal test situation. Unobtrusive observations such as the above lent support to the proposal that the effects of group affiliation might breach the formal boundaries of group participation in a significant manner. Specifically, for a member of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, there develops a connection of mutual influence between group participation, his sense of personal identity, and the ways of life he feels are available to him. The wider sociological consequence is that real sociocultural borders develop - measured in terms of overlapping verbal and/or non-verbal behaviour - where none are enforced, stated, or even recognized. A purely cultural analysis based on tracing the interconnections of underlying cultural premises is conducted. Specifically, the overlap on the perceived options for action among members in the area of job choice are measured. Subcultural group boundaries are posited at those points where the degree and number of influences are greatest and have the most effect upon membership. The methodological procedure that is adopted in order to substantiate an instance of informal control requires that the analyst: (1) establish the presence of social borders (overlapping behavioural responses on the part of members); (2) establish those social borders as being informal (that those overlapping responses occur in an area of behaviour not subject to normative influence); (3) establish the presence of overlap in presumed behaviour (that individual members have similar concepts of what other members do, or would do); (4) establish the presence of informal culture (that members share a common interpretation of behaviour situations); (5) establish presumed behaviour as the intervening variable between formal group participation and the generation of informal cultural boundaries (a correlation between a given member's response and his concept of what other members do or would do). A high correlation between members' personal behaviour choice and their presumed behaviour choice is interpreted as substantiating presumed behaviour as the intervening variable in informal control and subsequently resulting in informal cultural boundaries. Furthermore, members' actual job choices were shown to fall within the range established by informal control.

III. Methodological Complexities and Uncertainties

Few social phenomenon are either reducible to a unitary problem or explicable in terms of a single cause. Two major methodological questions arise in this study in connection with the issue of whether informal control is to be viewed as the sole cause of informal social and cultural boundaries, or alternatively, is informal control to be conceptualized as part of an interactive set of causal factors which differ in both nature and origin. The question of whether it is more appropriate to explain informal sociocultural boundaries in terms of a single variable causal hypothesis or a multipe variable causal hypothesis is addressed below in reference to the issues of (1) measuring alternative behaviours and influences, and (2) selection versus socialization.

1. Measuring Alternative Behaviours and Influences

The study at hand was unable to thoroughly account for (measure) the full range of:

a) The effect of non-group constraints on members' perceived range of behavioural options. Specifically, in the area of job choice, it is impossible to control factors such as degree of innovativeness or lack of imagination. While these personal factors may originate and function independent of the dynamics of group affiliation, their collective effect may nevertheless limit the perceived behaviour options for members as a whole.

b) The multiplicity of group oriented decision making influences. The question arises as to whether the influence of group affiliation is based on personality needs, such as identity, situational factors, such as the amount of time required to participate in club activities, social affect brought about by the effective communication of norms in a tight-knit social network, or social marginality as an ex post facto result of commitment to an outlaw subculture.

In an earlier discussion of information processing, it was proposed that the dynamic structuring of information that constitutes decision making in the operational memory involves receiving information from four different dimensions of meaning: (i) situational; (ii) motivational; (iii) personal; and (iv) group. It is highly improbable that any one of the above dimensions of meaning is singularly responsible for the observed overlap in job choice. In addition to precluding a single explanation, the degree of influence that each of these factors exerts will in all likelihood vary from individual to individual. Thus, situational exigencies may be the dominant factor with one individual, and group experiences the determining influence with another, while the full complement of (four) possible influences may be operational with yet another member. However, the study did establish: (a) the fact of a highly shared theory of group based on presumed behaviour, (b) a notable correlation between members' perceived behaviour options and those they attribute to the group, and (c) a wholesale correlation between the test subjects' perceived range of visible job choices and the members' actual job choices. At best the study establishes a causal model wherein the hypothetical construct "theory of group" achieves the status of intervening variable. At worst, the study constitutes a descriptive model of group influence on personal decision making.

2. Selection Versus Socialization

The question can be raised as to whether or not the observed "informal influence" is in actuality a result of the group recruiting (selecting for) a particular type of person whose range of job choice is restricted prior to group affiliation (socialization). It is likely that the distinctive pattern of perceived job choice is to some extent determined by structural conditions created by the larger society that go beyond the control of the group, i.e., exigencies of being a biker. However, structural preconditions do not necessarily undermine the importance of socialization into a primary group committed to a separate cultural design. The situation is, in effect, one wherein both "selection" and "socialization" work to produce a pattern that is consistent with the overall cultural design of an outlaw motorcycle club.

IV. Methodological and Theoretical Implications

The thrust of the aforementioned remarks concerning the significance of an individual's theory of group - presumed behaviour - is that it would be a mistake to confuse an explanation of (1) the formal organization (institutional structure) and/or (2) the dynamics of group interaction (collective action structure), with an evaluation of (3) the total effect of group membership on individual action (personal structure). One would in effect be confusing group structure with individual performance. What is specifically brought into question are any a priori assumptions about the institutional and collective structure of a group determining the range of what can legitimately be called group behaviour. What is required then is a conceptual refinement that would accommodate the above distinctions. The findings of this section indicate that central to pursuing the problem of evaluating group effect is an approach which focuses on the individual members of that group, i.e., a methodology wherein the individual is adopted as the first level of analysis.

In order to gauge this sharing of a common cultural ethos a *personalcentric* approach is proposed, a research strategy wherein the actual boundaries of sociocultural organizations would be discerned in terms of the impact they have on individual members' everyday decision making process. This task would require that group boundaries are extended to include those areas of behaviour that are subject to group effect. Remaining consistent with this study's personalcentric approach, the researcher proposes as a minimal definition of group effect: the basic fact of group affiliation having the ability to influence (change) human behaviour and provide observable (measurable) boundaries as a result. Group effect is tantamount to the influence membership has with respect to either creating or delimiting the range of behavioural options members feel they have at their disposal in a given situation. Cultural boundaries are not uniform with respect to intermember sharing, and they are furthermore difficult to define insofar as they are not necessarily coterminous with social boundaries. Thus the *range* - areas of influence - and the *degree* - extent of intermember overlap - of group effect becomes a highly problematical affair. Such an approach constitutes a shift in emphasis from sociocultural systems conceived as fixed reified systems with "invariant reference points" to a strategy where borders are measured in terms of the impact participation has on individual members' behaviour. Yet it should remain clear that a personalcentric stratogem does not constitute a disregard of the formal institutional structure or collective action structure; rather, it promotes the individual as the initial level of analysis from which generalizations about the other two levels can be made.

In conclusion, the chapter initially adopts a conception of culture as an ideational system. Underlying cultural premises are then traced outside the formal institutional structure, beyond collective interaction, into the realm of what would otherwise be designated as personal behaviour. This procedure advocates what Schneider (1972) advocated in the form of a pure cultural analysis "uncontaminated by the study of its social system." However, in order to avoid charges of "ethereal idealism" (Keesing, 1974), the abstracted ideational system is then correlated with behaviour on the level of concrete social action. In the case of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, informal cultural boundaries are shown to be coterminous with informal social boundaries.

Chapter 18

CONCLUSION

The Traditional View of Man: An Emphasis on Sociocultural Integration and Uniformism Through Normative Determinism

Until recently, anthropologists generally treated the group or the institution as the basic unit of analysis. This resulted in an emphasis on sociocultural integration at the expense of intracultural diversity and contradiction. The image of man that emerged was that of a culture bound/role enslaved purveyor of socio-cultural forces. In other words, the individual was seen as a passive agent who followed the directives of institutional norms. When the discipline finally turned its attention to the nature of the relationship between the individual and society (particularly with the rise of culture and personality studies), explanations continued to be dominated by a normative approach: social norms, viewed in terms of regulatory expectations and obligations were cast in the role of stimuli; customary human behaviour became the response. The psychological complexities and situational vagaries involved in that stimulus-response model - used to represent human information processing - were usually glossed over in accounts of behavioural norms being "internalized." It mattered little whether the ultimate determinants of social behaviour were to be found in social facts, institutional structures, or techno-environmental baselines. The individual was viewed as a constant if not a forgotten variable in the equation of social behaviour and, as such, he needn't be considered in its explanation. The logical consequence of such a perspective was that the proper study of man was not man but culture. In effect, the science of man had solved the problem of man by eliminating the problem.

The Personalcentric Approach: Man as the Locus of Culture and Decision Making

The study at hand proceeded on the rationale that a greater understanding of the processes that underly sociocultural adaptation can be achieved through the adoption of what is introduced as a personalcentric approach. The major theoretical tenet of the personalcentric approach is that culture is a cognitive (mental) phenomenon, not an external (physical) phenomenon. The individual becomes the locus of cultural learning, adaptation, and change. Insofar as diachronic (past historical), synchronic (present situational), and futuristic (anticipated hypothetical) causal factors are all subject to individual interpretation, human decision making behaviour has to be considered an individual process with independent elements. However, proposing that the individual is the locus of culture and therefore the locus of adaptation, should not be construed as a declaration of human independence from those external factors that constitute his social and physical environment. The individual, together with his social and physical environment constitute an ecological system; the components of this system are interconnected through a complex network of mutual causality. A perspective of the individual as being involved in a mutually influential dialogue - constant interplay - with his social and physical environment, avoids the necessity of having to take a rigid position regarding either normative determinism or voluntarism. The issue of whether the individual is immersed in an invariable social situation bound by inflexible social dictates, or whether he is a free social entrepreneur, becomes an empirical question that has to be addressed within the context of a specific situation. The personalcentric approach stresses the fact that the individual is the point of interpretation and decision making in this system of constant interplay, and is therefore, at the very least, the nexus of causation.

The personalcentric approach views the individual as operating with a theory of group: the individual's model of how his society functions. This theory of group is introduced as the intervening variable between the stimulus of group affiliation and the effect of that affiliation on individual decision making. Distinguishing between an individual's personal knowledge and his theory of group accommodates the dialectic that exists between the group as a social structure and the individual's attempts to maximize his personal position within the context of that structure. In particular, the dichotomy makes explicit the role of negotiation in how an individual arrives at the meaning of a situation and ultimately decides upon an appropriate plan of action.

The methodological implication of the personalcentric approach is that the individual becomes the first (intrapersonal) level of analysis, and subsequently serves as the basis for second (interpersonal) level generalizations about the interactions of collectives, and third (extrapersonal) level abstractions about social institutions. Yet it should remain clear that a personalcentric strategem does not constitute a disregard of either the collective action structure or the formal institutional structure. Rather, it promotes the individual as the initial level of analysis from which generalizations about the other two levels can be made. The advantage that such a strategy confers lies in its ability to discern both the qualitative (cultural themes or motifs) and the quantitative (areas and extent of intermember sharing) precedents that an individual brings into a decision making situation. Thus, the personalcentric approach constitutes a shift in emphasis from sociocultural rules to adaptive strategies by making both a theoretical and methodological acknowledgement that the individual is a decision making strategist.

The thrust of the above remarks is that the personalcentric approach allows us to separate two sets of processes: a) social structure versus culture, and b) processes of differentiation versus processes of integration. The implications that making these distinctions holds for understanding the nature of both group and individual adaptation will now be examined in more detail.

Social Structure Versus Culture

The personalcentric approach emphasizes the distinction between social structure and culture by positing the individual as the locus of culture, and by emphasizing the role played by the individual as a decision making strategist. These two premises call into question any conceptions that we might have of sociocultural groups as fixed reified systems with invariant reference points. Pursuing the hypothesis that cultural boundaries need not overlap with social boundaries, the equation of group boundaries to group structure was shown to involve a fallacious assumption: that all elements of group influence are embedded in the social structure. This assumption prevents consideration of those effects of group affiliation that carry over into areas of personal behaviour. Specifically, a gap can occur between group effect measured in terms of the processes of social structure (participation in institutional and collective activities) and group effect measured in terms of how members subjectively experience that group (the influence of membership on how an individual organizes and relates to this social environment as a whole). The individual's theory of group - presumed action and meaning structure - enables the impact of group affiliation on decision making processes to extend beyond both formally organized and collective activities into the area of what would otherwise be considered personal behaviour. Specifically, informal control occurs when an individual employs his theory of group as a reference in interpreting and negotiating appropriate behaviour in decision making situations occurring outside the context of formal group or aggregate activity. By influencing personal learning beyond social learning (informal control), the theories of group that individual members have can lead to similar knowledge being applied to areas of personal behaviour (informal cultural boundaries). These informal cultural boundaries may in turn lead to overlapping responses in areas of personal behaviour (informal social boundaries). These informal social borders (e.g., overlapping job choices on the part of members) are the result of the psychological forces of self-identity extending beyond the sociological forms of institutional and collective participation. In this study a purely culturally analysis is conducted by tracing cultural premises outside the formal institutional structure , beyond collective interaction, into the realm of personal behaviour. The stability of this boundary system is shown to be maintained by the psychological forces of self-identity as opposed to normative sociological forces and affirmations.

In order to be able to gauge the sharing of a common cultural ethos (cultural overlap) that occurs outside sociological forms, such as institutional structures or collective group networks, the personalcentric approach adopts a research strategy wherein the actual boundaries of sociocultural organizations are discerned in terms of the impact they have on individual member's everyday decision making process. This task requires that group boundaries be extended to include those areas of behaviour subject to group effect. Remaining consistent with this study's personalcentric approach, the author proposes the following: Group affiliation has the ability to influence (change) human behaviour, and provide observable (measurable) boundaries as a result. Group effect is tantamount to the influence membership has with respect to either creating or delimiting the range of behavioural options members feel that they have at their disposal in a given situation. Cultural boundaries are found not to be uniform with respect to intermember sharing. They are furthermore difficult to define insofar as they do not necessarily overlap with more obvious social boundaries. Thus the range - areas of influence - and the degree - extent of intermember overlap - of group effect becomes subject to empirical investigation. It cannot be assumed that social and cultural boundaries are coterminous.

Processes of Differentiation Versus Processes of Integration

For the greater part of its history the discipline of anthropology portrayed culture as if it were an integrated monolithic pattern. Anthropologists teased out predominant cultural patterns, e.g., processes of socialization, which in turn fostered the development of specific personality types, e.g., "modal personality," or "ideal type." The relationship between individual and society was both systemic and isomorphic: individuals did what they (socially) must simply because - by virtue of the process of socialization - they wanted to. Conformity to these socio-cultural patterns along with a commencerant degree of psychological homogeneity were extolled as axiomatic to survival. It mattered little whether culture was considered a microcosm of culture or whether personality was considered a microcosm of culture; the end result was a tacit, if not explicit, assumption of homogeneity. Variation and heterogeneity were either ignored, viewed as imperfections in the system, or considered as deviations that would be corrected by internal self-regulating mechanisms; excessive variation was considered pathogenic. Pelto and Pelto (1975) estimated the prevalence of "assumptions of homogeneity" in contemporary anthropological theorizing:

> . . . the predominant tendency in anthropological reporting and theory-building continues to be made up of constructions reflecting fundamental assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioural sharing. Assumptions of homogeneity are clearly evident in most of the ethnoscience literature, most of the research focused on social structure, and in many of the newer theoretical directions including Levi-Straussian structuralism and Marxian New Left theory. Assumptions of "central tendencies" and related typological constructs are even found in many studies in which statistical techniques are used (1975:6).

The first serious challenge to the principle of uniformism came from Wallace (1961) who felt that the operation of socio-cultural systems was based not on the "replication of uniformity," but rather the "organization of diversity."

Within the "replication of uniformity" schema there is assumed to be a psychic unity which leads to the sharing of a nuclear character among the members of a cultural unit. This homogeneity is supposedly reproduced both on a cultural and an individual level with each succeeding generation, perpetuated by the mechanisms of socialization. On the other hand, the "organization of diversity" viewpoint construes the cognitive and motivational interests of both individuals and subgroups as being heterogeneous in nature. The organizational principle becomes not one of sharing uniformity in the form of a psychic unity, but rather the capacity of individuals to predict the actions of others given the societal circumstances. In particular, there is a form of contractual agreement by which individuals organize their activities into mutually facilitating operations.

Wallace (1970) furthermore proposed that cognitive non-sharing be considered as a functional prerequisite for any social system:

> Many a social system simply would not work if all participants share common knowledge of the system . . . for cognitive nonuniformity subserves two important functions: 1) it permits a more complex system to arise than most or any of its participants comprehend; 2) it liberates the participants in a system from the heavy burden of learning each other's motivations and cognitions (Wallace, 1970:35, original 1961).

In presenting his argument for the functional necessity of diversity, Wallace addressed the problem of the mechanics of how social interaction could occur without cognitive overlap in the form of shared motivations, values, etc. He proposed the concept of the "secondary equivalence structure" wherein the minimum requirement for social interaction is that the behaviour of an individual be recognizable and predictable to a degree that allows others to respond in a manner that allows the activity to be completed. The message is that the intermeshing of interpersonal behaviour in social interaction does not require cognitive sharing that goes beyond interpretive congruence. Thus, Wallace was instrumental in proposing the essential nature of diversity while seriously questioning whether socio-cultural systems were integrated through uniformity. However, while Wallace's insights were paid lip service, they were never seriously questioned in terms of their being applied to actual empirical situations. Furthermore, Wallace did not breach the failure of traditional culture and personality theorists to transcend the circularity inherent in the search for isomorphic links between personality and social systems. The recognition that complex social structures require and therefore subsequently produce intermember diversity does not introduce an element of individual voluntarism; nor does it establish a motivational base for human action that lies outside the dictates of normative determinism.

The underlying theoretical message of this thesis is that a successful social system - measured in terms of its ability to adapt - is one that includes processes that allow for the accommodation of diversity. The two major categorical functions of diversity, in addition to those proposed by Wallace, are seen as: first, the consolidation of alternatives whose adaptive value may only become evident when changing environmental conditions demand novel strategies; and second, the accommodation of contradictions which lend the group the necessary cognitive (ideational) and behavioural latitude to meet disparate, often conflicting, demands. The picture of society that emerges goes beyond the dialectical framework wherein sociocultural entities (ideational and behavioural patterns) change and develop by virtue of conflict between simultaneously occurring oppositions and opposite trends within them. The processes involved in the maintenance of diversity transcend dialectical conceptualization in two signficant ways: 1) they do not necessarily involve a synthesis or reconciliation of alternatives or opposites, and 2) they involve simultaneity rather than sequence. Observations of the Rebels M.C. indicated simultaneous and sustained oppositions and antitheses; the ideational and behavioural structure of the Rebels M.C. displayed alternatives and oppositions that remained self-contradictory, tense, and unresolved.

Informal observations and formal testing of the Rebels M.C. indicated that intracultural diversity emanates from intermember variation in the form of diverse personal orientations towards the group's core ideology:

1) Members have different perceptions of the group goal.
2) Members are committed to group goals to varying degrees.
3) Members have distinct personal goals that they hope to achieve through group participation.

These three categorical sources of variation are in addition to, but different from, variation resulting from a basic division of roles. While the latter results from the integration of complementary skills into a social system, the former is the result of divergent personal orientations towards the core ideology that underlies the system. In effect, members have different theories of group culture. Much of the group tension and organizational dynamics that result focus upon the process of negotiation as members - each with his own unique theory of group culture - attempt to bring the group into alignment with what they feel it ought to be.

The major theoretical chapters of this treatise examined how intracultural variation relates to the processes of both individual and group adaptation. The intracultural heterogeneity that becomes evident in the form of both ideational and behavioural variation does not manifest itself as a social liability; rather, it functions as a social asset by providing a degree of operational flexibility. In fact, then, intracultural diversity reveals itself not as a reflection of imperfections in the social system of the group, but as a vital resource, like variations in a gene pool, that lies at the core of social system adaptability and change.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Formal Questionnaire

Formal Questionnaire

The questionnaire is sub-divided in the following manner:

I. Background Information

II. Perceived Potential Social Network

  A. Connectedness of System
  B. Self-Sufficiency of System
  C. Personal Commitment to System

III. Perceived Potential Personal Behaviour

Degree of correspondence between personal behaviour and presumed behaviour in the domain of economics and personal subsistence strategies.

I. BACKGROUND

1. How long have you been a member of the Rebels Motorcycle Club?

2. What types of bikes, and how long, had you been riding prior to striking?

3. What was your first contact with the club?

4. Did you know or have any association with any of the members prior to becoming a friend of the club/striker?

5. How long were you a friend of the club?

6. How long were you a striker?

7. Have you held any executive positions? Yes ___ No ___

Position	Date
President	____________
Vice-President	____________
Secretary	____________
Sgt. at Arms/Secondary Sgt.	____________
Road Captain/Secondary Road Captain	____________
Treasurer	____________
Board Member	____________

8. Have you served on any of the special committees? Yes ___ No ___

Committee	Date
____________________	____________
____________________	____________

9. Age __________ Yrs.

10. Education - ____

11. Origin - Rural ___ Urban ___

12. Marital Status - Single ___ Live with old lady ___
Married ___ Divorced ___
Children ___ No. of children ___

II. PERCEIVED POTENTIAL SOCIAL NETWORK

A. Connectedness of System

1. What kinds of things do you do with your spare time, i.e., non-working hours?

(i) ______________________________

(ii) ______________________________

(iii) ______________________________

(iv) ______________________________

(v) ______________________________

(vi) ______________________________

2. With whom would you engage in activity?

(i) ________________

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________

(ii) ________________

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________

(iii) ________________

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________

(iv) ________________

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________

(v) ________________

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________

2. (vi) _______________

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

3. Who would you ask for help to repair your bike?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

4. If you wanted some work done on your bike, i.e., painting/mechanical parts, who would you contact?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

5. Who would you help repair their bike?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

6. If you were in need of money, from whom would you borrow it?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

7. Who would you lend money to?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

8. Who would you support in a fight?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

9. From whom would you expect support in a fight?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): _______________

10. With whom do you discuss bikes?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

11. With whom do you talk news, i.e., 'shoot the shit'?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

12. With whom, if anybody, do you discuss personal affairs, e.g., job, old lady, hassles?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

13. Who would you contact if you needed a job?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

14. Who would you contact if you needed someone to bail you out of jail?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

15. Who would you contact if you were ill, disabled, or in the hospital?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

16. To whom would you feel free to make an unannounced visit, i.e., drop in on?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

17. Who would you go on a summer vacation with?

(a) any (all) members ______ (b) some members ______
(c) non-members ______ (d) self ______
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ______________________________

18. If you needed a place to stay, who would you contact?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ____________________

19. If you required legal assistance, such as a lawyer, how would you go about obtaining it?

(a) any (all) members _____ (b) some members _____
(c) non-members _____ (d) self _____
(e) Example (related to rationale of choice and frequency of activation): ____________________

B. Self-Sufficiency of System

20. (a) Do you belong to any other voluntary groups?

Political _____ Community _____ Charity _____
Religious _____ Fraternal _____ Recreational _____
Other _____

If "Yes,"

(i) State category or type of group
(ii) Reason for joining
(iii) Type of contact situations
(iv) Frequency of contacts
(v) Nature of personal commitment

If "No,"

(i) State reason why not

(b) Do you think that other members belong to any such voluntary organizations or groups? Yes ___ No ___

21. (a) Do you have any formal association with any other institution or organization, such as an academic institution or trade union, etc.?

If "Yes,"

(i) State category or type of group
(ii) Reason for joining
(iii) Type of contact situations
(iv) Frequency of contacts
(v) Nature of personal commitment

If "No,"

(i) State reason why not

21. (b) Do you think that other members have any such formal associations? Yes ___ No ___

22. Do you have any friends who are not bikers? Yes ___ No ___

If "Yes," Category ___________
Rationale ___________
Contact Situations ___________
Frequency ___________
Commitment ___________

If "No," Rationale ___________

23. Do you have any very close friends who are not members of the Rebels? Yes ___ No ___

If "Yes," Category ___________
Rationale ___________
Contact Situations ___________
Frequency ___________
Commitment ___________

If "No," Rationale ___________

24. (a) Do you have any friends who mean more to you than members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club? Yes ___ No ___

If "Yes," Category ___________
Rationale ___________
Contact Situations ___________
Frequency ___________
Commitment ___________

If "No," Give reason why not ___________

(b) (i) Do you think other members have friends who mean more to them than members of the Rebels Motorcycle Club? Yes ___ No ___

(ii) Do you think other members feel the same way? Yes ___ No ___

25. Do you devote more time or effort to anybody or anything other than the club/members? Yes ___ No ___

Job ___ Old lady ___ Family ___ Relatives ___ Bike ___

If "Yes," Category ___________
Rationale ___________
Contact Situations ___________
Frequency ___________
Commitment ___________

If "No," Rationale ___________

26. What people do you interact with who are not members of the club (e.g., people who are not members who you might see over the course of any given week)?

Category ____________
Rationale ____________
Contact Situations ____________
Frequency ____________
Commitment ____________

27. Does your old lady have friends who are outside of club affiliation? Yes ___ No ___

28. Do you interact with these friends of your old lady?
Yes ___ No ___

29. Do you take your old lady to club functions, down to the bar, etc.?
Yes ___ No ___

30. Does your old lady have friends with club affiliation, i.e., other old ladies? Yes ___ No ___

31. (a) If a conflict arose which resulted in a one-or-the-other choice, between being a Rebel and the following, which would you choose?

(i) Job ______ Rebel ______
(ii) Old Lady ______ Rebel ______
(iii) Family ______ Rebel ______
(iv) Relatives ______ Rebel ______
(v) Outside Friends ______ Rebel ______

(b) Do you think other members would make the same choice?
Yes ___ No ___

C. Personal Commitment to System

32. (a) What is the purpose of the Rebels Motorcycle Club?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same about 32(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

33. (a) Who decides what the purpose is?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 33(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

34. (a) In what way does being a Rebel make you different from "Joe Citizen" (the average person)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 34(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

35. (a) In what way does being a Rebel make you different from other bikers?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 35(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

36. (a) Why is the Rebels Motorcycle Club an "outlaw" club?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 36(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

37. (a) In what way is the Rebels Motorcycle Club different from the Golden West Motorcycle Club (Calgary)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 37(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

38. (a) In what way is the Rebels Motorcycle Club different from the Satan's Choice Motorcycle Club (Toronto)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 38(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

39. (a) In what way is the Rebels Motorcycle Club different from the King's Crew Motorcycle Club (Calgary)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 39(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

40. (a) Why did you join the club?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 40(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

41. (a) Why do you remain in the club (e.g., what does membership in the club allow you to do that you otherwise wouldn't be able to? What does membership give you that you otherwise wouldn't have)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 41(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

42. (a) Under what circumstances would you consider a person a possible candidate for the club, i.e., before you would give him your vote to allow him to strike; state of club affairs; qualifications of applicant?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 42(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

43. (a) Under what circumstances would you vote a striker into the club, e.g., when would you consider him ready for membership?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 43(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

44. (a) What circumstances would cause you to leave the club and/or under what conditions do you plan to leave?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 44(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

45. (a) Who would you call 'brother'?

Any (all) members	_____	Some members	_____
Non-members	_____	None of above	_____

Example (related to choice and situation):

____

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 45(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

46. (a) What does the brotherhood, or being a brother, mean to you?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 46(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

47. (a) What do your colours, i.e., skull emblem, stand for?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 47(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

48. (a) Why do you own a motorcycle, i.e., what does it mean to you? What does it allow you to do and what enjoyment does it give you?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 48(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

49. (a) What types of badges, emblems, insignias do you attach to your leathers - colours?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 49(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

50. (a) What has the brotherhood done for you?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 50(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

51. (a) What have you done for the brotherhood?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 51(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

52. (a) If you were in a situation where they were threatened, how far would you go to defend your

Colours Example ______

Members Example ______

Bike Example ______

Club Name (e.g., someone in the bar calls down the club) Example ______

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 52(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

53. (a) What kinds of things hold the club together, e.g., shared personal experiences?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 53(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

54. (a) What things concern you most, or matters most to you as an individual (e.g., what things do you think about most or devote yourself to most)?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 54(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

55. (a) What things do you enjoy doing most?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 55(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

56. (a) What impression do you have on the rest of society?

Relationship with R.C.M.P.

Relationship with City Police

Relationship with hotel bar management/employees

Relationship with citizens

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 56(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

57. (a) What impression do you think outsiders have of you or the club?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 57(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

58. (a) Would you want that impression changed in any way?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 58(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

59. Any further comments?

III. PERCEIVED POTENTIAL PERSONAL BEHAVIOUR

Domain: Economic Subsistence

1. (a) What kinds of things do you do to make money?

   (b) Are these similar to what the other members do to make money?
   Yes ___ No ___

2. (a) Why would you choose those particular things, i.e. 1(a)?

   (b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 2(a)?
   Yes ___ No ___

3. (a) How often or what times of the year would you do those things mentioned in 1(a) (e.g. work)?

   (b) Are these similar to the circumstances under which, or times when, the other members would make money/work?
   Yes ___ No ___

4. (a) Why would you choose those particular times, i.e., 3(a), to make money/work?

   (b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 4(a)?
   Yes ___ No ___

5. (a) What are your responsibilities in those things mentioned in 1(a)?

   (b) Do you think other members have the same amount of, or similar responsibilities?
   Yes ___ No ___

6. (a) Do you look at those things mentioned in 1(a) as a permanent way of making a living?

   (b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 6(a)?
   Yes ___ No ___

7. (a) What would be, or is, important to you about a permanent job?

   (b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 7(a)?
   Yes ___ No ___

8. (a) Under what circumstances would you take a permanent job?

   (b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 8(a)?
   Yes ___ No ___

9. (a) What kinds of jobs, or ways of making money, did you have before you joined the club?

(b) What kinds of jobs, or ways of making money, have you had while being a member?

(c) What type(s) of job(s) will you have when you leave the club or obtain honorary membership?

(d) Do you think other members feel the same way about 9(c)?
Yes ___ No ___

10. (a) Do your ways of making money involve other club members?

(b) Do you think that this is the same for the other club members?
Yes ___ No ___

11. (a) Were other club members involved in your finding a job/way of making money?

(b) Do you think this was the same for the other club members?
Yes ___ No ___

12. (a) What do you spend most of your money on?

(b) Do you think this is the same for the other members?
Yes ___ No ___

13. (a) What do you enjoy spending your money on most?

(b) Do you think other members feel the same way about 13(a)?
Yes ___ No ___

14. Are there any club rules related to making money, or getting a job?

(i) Good or bad jobs? ________
(ii) Good or bad ways of making money? ________
(iii) When one works, or should work? ________
(iv) The influence of (i), (ii) or (iii) on club participation? ________

15. What aspects of making money, or getting jobs, do members generally talk about?

(i) Good or bad jobs? ________
(ii) Good or bad ways of making money? ________
(iii) When one works, or should work? ________
(iv) The influence of (i), (ii) or (iii) on club participation? ________

16. While a member of the Rebels Motorcycle Club, would you consider any of the following ways of making money/jobs?

	Subsistence Strategy	"YES" (Conditions)	"NO" (Reason Why Not)	Do you feel other members of the club would employ proposed subsistence strategies?
1.	Roughneck on oil rigs			
2.	Bouncer in hotel bar			
3.	Edmonton City Police			
4.	Mechanic			
5.	Welder or machinist			
6.	Pipefitter			
7.	Teacher			
8.	Unemployment insurance			
9.	Ice cream vendor			
10.	Electrician/carpenter/plumber			
11.	Mason			
12.	Postman			
13.	Autobody repair man			
14.	Royal Canadian Mounted Police			
15.	Own private business			
16.	Store clerk			
17.	Truck driver			
18.	Transit driver			
19.	Welfare			
20.	Money from "old lady"			
21.	Customize/sell motorcycles			
22.	Motorcycle theft			
23.	Miscellaneous theft			
24.	Construction worker			
25.	Hustling (pool, cards, etc.)			
26.	Sale of hard drugs			
27.	Sale of marijuana			
28.	Ranching or farming			
29.	University student			
30.	Technological institute student			
31.	Politician			
32.	Salesman			

APPENDIX B

Summary Guide and Activity Chart for Group Participation

Summary Guide and Activity Chart for Group Participation

The summary guide below and the activity chart that follows outline the nature of members' participation in the Rebels Motorcycle Club subculture. The range, type, and frequency of both formally structured institutional events and more informal interaction within the group's social network, are documented for what is considered to be a "typical" summer (riding season) month.

LEGEND: * Formal-Compulsory Club Activity
** Formal-Optional Club Activity
† Informal-Optional Club Activity

I. TYPES OF EVENTS

A. Weekly Club Meeting* (May 7, 14, 21, 28)

- Meeting of members to discuss club business, plan and organize activities.
- Attendance is compulsory (Rebels M.C. Book of Rules); informal interviews and observations indicate that there are rarely more than one or two absentees (membership - 24).
- Meetings are followed by a pool/drinking session at the clubhouse, trips to bar, or a short run.
- Attendance at after-events is optional; observations indicate a two-thirds mean participation, e.g., fifteen members counted in Rex Bar on May 14.

B. Executive Meeting* (May 6, 20)

- Meeting of the executive plus two board members (a total of seven individuals) to discuss executive business and plan proposals to be forwarded to the membership.

- Attendance is "compulsory," meetings occur on a bi-monthly basis unless an emergency meeting is required.
- Attendance is usually complete although there are no formal rules, i.e., attendance is just expected.

C. Victoria Day Run* (May 17, 18, 19)

- A three-day mandatory run to Amisk Lake.
- There are two mandatory runs per riding season - Victoria Day and Labour Day.
- Attendance is mandatory (Rebels M.C., Constitution, 1975), e.g., on the Victoria Day run all members, plus strikers.

D. Non-Mandatory Runs** (May 3, 11, 31)

- Either a one-day or weekend outing.
- There are usually three or four runs per month.
- Attendance is optional; however, members are required to attend one run a month (Book of Rules), e.g., on the Warburg run, there were nineteen members, two strikers, two friends of club, and six old ladies.

E. Boys' Night Out** (May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29)

- Activities usually include drinking at bar and/or a party at the clubhouse.
- According to the Rebels M.C. Book of Rules, members' old ladies are not allowed at the clubhouse or at Rebel bars. This ruling does not mean, however, that other females are not present at these events.
- Attendance is optional; however, members are generally expected to

participate once or twice a month, e.g., the mean attendance for the May 8th and 22nd outing was sixteen.

F. Bar-B-Que** (May 10, 31)

- Members bring steaks and/or steal a pig. The club in addition purchases two or three kegs of beer.
- Held at clubhouse.
- Attendance is optional, e.g., attendance at May 31st bar-b-que included twenty-one Rebels, three Rebel strikers, two friends of club, thirteen Kings Crew, four Warlords, and thirteen old ladies.

G. Private Parties† (May 2, 9, 23)

- Party at member's residence.
- A non-club activity but guests are usually limited *ex post facto* to patch holders.
- Attendance is optional; for example, there were thirteen members plus old ladies at Indian's May 9th party.

H. Drinking at Bar† (May 5, 13, 27)

- On an open night when one of the above or other activities are happening, several members are usually to be found at what has been established at that time as the club bar.
- Attendance is optional, e.g., on the dates of May 5th, 13th, 27th, there were seven, ten and nine members there, respectively.

II. FREQUENCY OF MEMBERSHIP PARTICIPATION

	Executive (Board) Members	Members
Total number of formal-compulsory club activities (*)	9	7

	Executive (Board) Members	Members
Total number of formal-optional club activities (**)	10	10
Total number of informal-optional club activities (†)	11	11
Total number of club activities	30	28
Total number of days on which there were club activities	25	23

ACTIVITY CHART

(May, 1975)

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				1 ** Boys' Night Out	2 † Roast Pig Party	3 ** Warburg Run
4 † Informal Visiting (Saint, Coyote & Striker at Blue's house)	5 † Capilano Bar	6 * Executive Meeting	7 * Club Meeting † Corona Bar	8 ** Boys' Night Out	9 † Private Party at Indian's	10 ** Bar-B-Que at Clubhouse
11 ** Run to see Possible Land Buy	12	13 † Rex Bar	14 * Club Meeting † Rex Bar	15 ** Boys' Night Out	16 † Mech. prep. of m/c for run. Collect/pack food and equipment	17 * Victoria Day Mandatory Run to Amisk Lake
18 * Victoria Day Mandatory Run to Amisk Lake	19 * Victoria Day Mandatory Run to Amisk Lake	20 * Executive Meeting	21 * Club Meeting † Capilano Bar	22 ** Boys' Night Out	23 † Private Party at Whimpy's	24 † Clubhouse Pool/ Drinking Session
25 † Impromptu "Boogie" (8 members) Canoe Trip down N. Saskatchewan Rive	26	27 † Corona Bar	28 * Club Meeting † Rex Bar	29 ** Boys' Night Out	30 † Mechanical Preparation of Motorcycles	31 ** Red Deer run to meet King Crew MC ** Bar-B-Que at Clubhouse

APPENDIX C

Chartered Clubs: The Ninety-Nine Percenters

Chartered Clubs: The Ninety-Nine Percenters

Motorcycling, as is the case with most hobby-professional sports, has a formal organization which regulates and directs it nationally, and represents it internationally. The Canadian Motorcycle Association (C.M.A.), founded in 1946, incorporated in 1957, and the American Motorcycle Association (A.M.A.), founded in 1924, are recognized as "the supreme controlling body of the sport of motorcycling," by affiliated clubs and individual members, in Canada and the United States, respectively. The C.M.A. and A.M.A. are themselves affiliated with the Federation Internationale Motorcycliste (F.I.M.), the international coordinating body for motorcycling, with its headquarters in Paris, France. A motorcycle club that is registered with the C.M.A. or A.M.A., obtains a club charter and is considered a legal organization by those parent bodies; if not, it is classified as "outlaw."

C.M.A. sanctioned clubs such as the Golden West Motorcycle Club (Calgary), essentially accept the values, ethics, and underlying assumptions that make up the cultural paradigm of the dominant host society:

> We (members of the Golden West M.C.) took up the sport purely for the betterment of the sport and ourselves, and we are not a gang per se, nor are we involved with any activities that should involve us with gangs of other clubs (Len McEwen, President, Golden West Motorcycle Club).

A C.M.A. or A.M.A. club can further align itself with society's suprastructure by applying for official status as an organization under the auspices of the local provincial or state government. Thus, the Golden West M.C., a relatively small C.M.A. affiliate with less than twenty members, and whose activities are of a casual nature, largely confined to social events revolving around motorcycles, registered as a "society" under "The Societies Act" of the government of the province of Alberta. As documented in The Societies Act, some advantages of incorporation are:

a) A member is not, in his individual capacity, liable for a debt or liability of the society.
b) The association may hold title to property and contract in its own name.
c) An incorporated organization may have a more permanent status than an unincorporated one (The Societies Act, Chapter 347, Revised Statutes of Alberta 1970).

Stated in less abstract terms, this "more permanent status" can prove to be of significance for members in their interactions and relationships with the institutionalized elements of society, in particular, the legal system:

> I had to testify in this court case once and the prosecutor tries to discredit me by asking was I not a member of a local motorcycle gang? Well, he dropped that line fast enough when I said I was a member of the Golden West, and that the Golden West was both a C.M.A. club and registered under the Alberta Societies Act (Frank, Vice-President, Golden West Motorcycle Club).

"The police leave us alone because they know we don't rape, pillage, and terrorize" (Ron, Secretary, Golden West Motorcycle Club). In the same vein, the Edmonton Motorcycle Club, a large C.M.A. affiliate with more than one hundred members, and whose interests revolve more around the organization of motorcycle competition events than social events, found it advantageous for business purposes, to establish themselves as a corporation, i.e., Edmonton Motorcycle Club Inc. By becoming a non-profit corporate C.M.A. club, the Edmonton Motorcycle Club became eligible for exemptions under the Federal Income Tax Act, which states that:

> A club, society or association organized and operated exclusively for social welfare, civic improvement, pleasure or recreation or for any other purpose except profit, no part of the income of which was payable to, or otherwise available for the personal benefit of any proprietor, member or shareholder thereof . . . except that the income from property of certain clubs in excess of $2,000 in a taxation year is now subject to tax.

On a more local level, incorporation promotes both coverage from the media and financial sponsorship from the business community:

> It's only in the last few years that the Edmonton public has accepted them (Edmonton M.C.) as anything other than a bunch of Hell's Angels. Only now does the Edmonton media, after years of pleading, give us exposure for our events. Presently it is getting easier to obtain sponsorship from breweries, cigarette companies . . . (Pauline Gwensrude, Secretary-Treasurer, Alberta Region C.M.A.).

Participation in a C.M.A. chartered club can include a variety of activities:

1) The fulfillment of official tasks such as attending weekly meetings, executive duties, the incorporation of new members, etc.

2) The organization of motorcycle competition events. Amateur and semi-professional competitions include: dirt and short track; drag race; record trials (speed or distance); enduro; moto-cross; scrambles; hillclimb; and ice race. The nature of these competitions range from the "road race" where larger machines are run fifty miles or more on a paved course (may be a closed public road), to "moto-cross" wherein lightweight bikes compete on natural terrain over a one and a half mile course; and from "hillclimb" where riders compete against time and distance up a steep hill of greater than 45° incline, to "ice-racing," where competitors use studded tires, snowmobile suits, and hockey knee pads to negotiate a circular track of ice. In addition, a club may sponsor various types of C.M.A. Road Rider activities that are more social than competitive in nature such as the poker run, lime run, map run, secret mileage run, scavenger hunt, etc. The "competitive" aspects of these activities range from hunting coloured eggs for points in an "egg hunt" or valuable and/or junk in a "scavenger hunt," to following splotches of lime through an obstacle course in a "lime run," or from seeing how far a cyclist can travel on a cup of gas in an

"economy run," to collecting cards at various check points and seeing who gets the best time and card hand in the "poker run."

3) The exchange of information on, and mutual assistance with the operation, repair, maintenance, performance, improvement and/or customizing of motorcycles.

4) The organization of social events such as parties, barbeques and club tours. Of particular prominence is the club motorcycle tour or "run." A run entails the club riding together as a unit to a particular destination for a social gathering. This may simply involve a communal cup of coffee at a local shop, a weekend campout with field events, or a month-long cross country tour to some scenic destination perhaps to be the guests of some host club.

Clubs will differ in terms of which one or combination of these activities they will partake in or emphasize, and the type of motorcycle that characterizes the club will vary accordingly. For example, the Greater Vancouver Motorcycle Club is largely confined to touring with members owning the larger highway machines with their greater engine size displacement, e.g., BMW's, Motto Geyzis, Harley Davidsons, etc. On the other hand, the Huronia Dirt Riders Motorcycle Club of Midland, Ontario, emphasize all aspects of dirt riding with members riding bikes that are smaller in size and engine displacement and designed for all terrain usage, e.g., Hodake, Montessa, Husqvarna, etc. Just as different clubs focus in on diverse aspects of the sport of motorcycling, so too does membership in different clubs demand varying degrees of participation on the part of its membership. Thus with clubs such as the Vincent Owners Club (Ontario) or the BMW Owners of America, interaction is usually limited to correspondence, generally in the form of a newsletter, travel guide, and addresses of fellow members with similar interests. In clubs whose main emphasis is competitive motorcycling, e.g., Sarnia Competition Motorcycle Club (Sarnia, Ontario), participation is largely limited to formal activities directed towards organizing and competing in upcoming events; the formation of friendship ties becomes possible but remains secondary and of a random nature. This is particularly true of the larger incorporated clubs such as the Edmonton Motorcycle Club Inc. In general, it is the smaller, less specialized clubs, i.e., those with less than thirty members and whose interests include "all aspects of motorcycling," and "road riding," or touring clubs in particular, that lead to and often promote, the formation of friendship bonds that extend outside the context of club activities.

APPENDIX D

Motorcycle Club Constitutions

Motorcycle Club Constitutions

Rebel's Motorcycle Club

Constitution/1974

1. In order to be a member, an applicant must own a Harley Davidson of at least 900 cc's. Strikers may strike with English bikes.

2. Prospective member's striking period is at the discretion of the club. Directorship shall decide when a vote is necessary.

3. Strikers pay dues for the first full month they start in. Initiation fee is $15.00, to be placed as a deposit on colours.

4. Strikers do not have to do anything that maims body, bike, or costs him money. Orders are restricted to club duties, club functions, and clubhouse.

5. All meetings will be run on a parliamentary basis. Members will be evicted for unruly conduct.

6. Quorum for a meeting is sixty percent of membership. Eighty percent for membership votes.

7. Dues are $60.00 annually, payable semi-annually.

8. On April 1st, colours will be taken if a member's bike is not on the road. On April 30th, such members shall be reduced to striking.

9. If a member's bike is not running for a period of thirty days, unless he is in jail or hospital, his colours will be confiscated. A member's bike must be running for at least one week (e.g., not fifteen minutes), to be exempt from the above rule. This period is subject to change at the discretion of the club.

10. Rebels losing privilege of wearing colours will also lose privilege of over-ruling strikers.

11. Victoria Day and Labour Day are mandatory runs. A $20.00 fine will be incurred if absent or leaving early, and a $5.00 fine for being late.

12. Directorship gives the president authority to judge items not in the Constitution.

13. New strikers are to strike one month before being allowed to attend meetings.

Satan's Choice Motorcycle Club

Bylaws/1970

1. To be a member, one must own a motorcycle of approved size and make. A member in his first year will be allowed to run a bike as small as a 500 cc (cubic centimeter) engine displacement, as long as it is a British or American product (Triumph, Norton, B.S.A., Harley Davidson). Japanese machinery is not allowed under any circumstances. During the first year of membership, one may own a motorcycle of larger engine displacement; however, the size stated above is the minimal accepted. A Harley Davidson, or motorcycle of minimal 750 cc, must be owned by the second year of membership.

2. Members and companions must be twenty-one years of age or have I.D. stating that they are twenty-one years of age.

3. Each member may own two sets of Satan's Choice colours, though no one may wear a set of colours without the approval of all members.

4. Strikers (prospective members) will deposit $25.00 with the treasurer before they are voted on. Regardless of the vote outcome, this amount is forfeited to the club.

5. Prospective members are required to ride with the club for a six-week period and attend all club meetings and functions.

6. Voting on membership for striking candidate is to take place at the seventh meeting following the beginning of his striking period.

7. Voting on membership will be by secret ballot. Two negative votes will refuse membership to the striker. There must be at least fifty percent of the club members present for membership voting.

8. Any person not an active member of Satan's Choice Motorcycle Club caught wearing the colours will by all means have them forcibly confiscated.

9. If a member misses four meetings or gets $2.00 behind in dues ($1.00/ week), he can be voted out of the club by a simple majority vote. Any member who cannot attend the weekly meeting is required to inform another member. Failing to do so can result in the member being heavily fined. If a meeting is missed, the given and all back dues owing must be paid at the next meeting attended.

10. There will be a club run at least once a month, which will be a mandatory run. All active members are required to go. Any member who does not attend can be voted out of the club at the next weekly meeting by a simple majority vote, unless he has notified the club at least a week before the run. A member shall not miss more than four runs or he shall be suspended indefinitely.

11. A member must have his bike road-worthy by the 24th of May, which is date of the first run of the year. This run is mandatory and all members must attend. A member's bike cannot be broken down longer than thirty days unless he is in jail, hospital, or on a granted leave of absence. A member can only receive an extension of the thirty-day period from the executive members only.

12. Members may go on a leave of absence by attending a meeting and making a motion during the new business session, or by letting one of the active officers of the club know. That same officer will bring up the motion for leave of absence at the following meeting and all active members will vote (simple majority) on the motion. Before a member can go on leave of absence he must pay all back dues and personal loans owing to the club, or members, before leaving with the club's permission.

13. Any member who has been in the Satan's Choice Motorcycle Club for five or more years and is in good standing with the club can be brought up at a meeting by an active member for a lifetime honorary membership.

14. Any active member wishing to run for office will have another bring his name up at a meeting for whatever office he wishes to run for (seniority rules). There will be a show of hands by members for "yes" or "no." The majority of hands for "yes" or "no" will rule the decision of whether or not there will be a vote by ballot on the member. Candidates for the positions of president and vice-president, in addition to being solid, well-informed, proven members, must also have been members for at least two years and have held another office before the election.

Satan's Choice Motorcycle Club

Code/1970

Our code involves the 14 bylaws that govern each member and chapter. Disobeying the code can lead to a member's expulsion and his colours forcibly confiscated if necessary. There are no chapters of Satan's Choice outside of Canada which are recognized. Any group of people who attempt to start a chapter without permission are subject to being descended upon and having their colours removed.

The King's Crew Motorcycle Club

Constitution/1974

NAME: King's Crew

PURPOSE: To preserve, unite, and develop, motorcycling

I. MEMBERSHIP

1. A prospective member and all members must have a four stroke street motorcycle of not less than 500 cc's.
2. All members must be male over the age of eighteen.
3. If at any time a member does not have a motorcycle in durable condition for a twenty-four day period during the riding season, which is from May 1st to Labour Day weekend (approximately September 5), his membership is automatically challenged by the club.
4. All new members must pay their colour fee within a fourteen day period after acceptance by the club. They are considered as strikers until this is done.
5. If new members fail to pay the prescribed sum with the fourteen days, their membership is void and repaying the initiation fee and possibly re-striking, if desired by the club, is necessary.

II. PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS (STRIKERS)

1. All the rules governing members also apply to strikers.
2. A striker must strike for a period of not less than six weeks, during which he is required to attend all club functions and at least six meetings. A striker may be voted on upon his seventh meeting.
3. All strikers must pay their initiation fees in full before their striking period begins.
4. All initiation fees are to be paid at meeting.

III. PROSPECTIVE STRIKERS (VISITORS)

1. Visitors may be accepted as strikers by fifty percent of the members present voting to do so.

2. Visitors can attend a maximum of three meetings. Their intentions must be given at the end of the second meeting.
3. Visitors may be accepted as strikers on the second meeting if the club so desires.
4. Initiation fees are to be paid before voting and if the visitor is rejected as a striker, the fee is retained by the club.

IV. MEMBERSHIP CHALLENGING

1. Any challenge of a membership must be done in writing and presented to the executive.
2. At the same meeting the executive will announce the challenge has been made and the said member has until the following meeting to defend the challenge.
3. All members making a challenge may remain anonymous.

V. EXECUTIVE CHALLENGING

1. Any challenge of a member's executive position must be done in writing and presented to the executive.
2. At the same meeting the executive will announce that the challenge has been made and the said member has until the following meeting to defend the challenge.
3. All members making an executive challenge may remain anonymous.
4. Colours need not be held for executive challenges as it is the position being filled that is in question, not the member's membership.

VI. MEMBERSHIP DISMISSAL

1. If for any reason a member is dismissed or expelled from the club, his colours will be retained by the club, forcibly if necessary.
2. If a dismissed or expelled member wishes to be reinstated this may be done if the club so desires. This is one hundred percent of members present.
3. Striking may be required by some ex-members who are re-instated if the club so desires. This shall be for a minimum of six weeks.
4. If an ex-member is re-instated his initiation fee is to be paid, whether or not striking is required.

5. All the rules of purchasing colours, attending six meetings, all club functions, and others, apply to re-instated members.

VII. MEMBERSHIP RESIGNATION

1. For a member to resign on good standing, all dues and monies owing the club must be paid in full.

2. If a resigning member in good standing wishes to retain his colours, this may be done if eighty percent of members present agree.

3. If a resigned member wishes to rejoin, this may be done by repaying his initiation fees and eighty percent of the members present agree.

4. Re-striking may be required.

VIII. VOTING

1. All membership votes must have at least twelve members present or at least twelve votes from members not present to vote in new members.

2. For a member to be accepted he must have a minimum of eighty percent of twelve votes in his favour.

3. Constitution changes and amendments must have twelve members present and seventy-five percent of votes taken must be in favour of before the changes can be made.

4. All other voting is to be a simple majority.

IX. EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

1. President - shall preside over meetings and recognize anyone who raises their hand.

2. Vice-President/Treasurer - shall take over in president's absence plus handle the matters of finance.

3. Secretary - shall take the weekly minutes of the meeting plus any correspondence required.

4. Sgt. at Arms - shall maintain order at meetings and may levy fines if necessary.

X. ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE

1. To plan and organize parties and dances, hall rentals, bands, etc.

2. A beer fund is set up and handled by the appointed member.

XI. RUNS COMMITTEE

1. To plan runs and work in league with the entertainment committee for beer stops, etc.

2. To find out when regattas, rock festivals and the like are on and where, and plan runs accordingly.

XII. MEETINGS

1. All meetings are to be run by parliamentary procedure.

2. No working on bikes and/or parts.

3. If a member wishes to voice his opinion he may do so by raising his hand. He is not to speak out until he is recognized by the president.

4. The executive shall maintain order at meetings.

5. Beer shall be bought at the prescribed beer breaks.

XIII. ELECTIONS

1. Nominations for the executive take place at the first meeting of the year.

2. Elections take place at the next meeting, and the new officers take over their positions.

3. Runs and entertainment committee are also elected in the same manner.

Canadian Motorcycle Association

Sample Constitutions for Motorcycle Clubs

In formulating a constitution and by-laws for your club, the rule of thumb is don't overburden your club with complicated constitutions and by-laws. One must remember that the primary interest in forming this club is the pleasure of motorcycling. The constitution and by-laws should reflect the interest of the members and the activities they wish to participate in.

Article No. 1

This club shall be known as the ______________________________

Article No. 2

Active members shall be riders of motorcycles, persons actively connected with the trade, or motorcycle enthusiasts. Honorary members shall be any other persons as the club may decide by a two-thirds vote of those present at any regular meeting so to honour. Only active members shall be entitled to a vote in club affairs or to win any prizes in club activities.

Article No. 3

The officers of the club shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Road Captain, Referee, and these officers shall constitute the Executive Board.

Article No. 4

The duties of the President shall be:

To preside at all meetings of the club.

To have general supervision of the affairs of the club.

To appoint any person or committees not otherwise ordered by the club.

To personally represent the club on proper occasions and business contacts.

To assist all other officers of the club in their records, correspondence and other duties.

To promote interest on the part of each member in club life and activities.

To vote only when one vote is necessary to break a tie.

Article No. 5

The duties of the Vice-President shall be to perform the duties of the President in his absence.

Article No. 6

The duties of the Secretary shall be:

To keep a record of the meetings of the club in the minute book provided for that purpose.

To send out notices of regular or special meetings.

To handle all club correspondence.

To perform such other duties as generally fall to that office.

Article No. 7

The duties of the Treasurer shall be:

To collect dues from all the members.

To collect all other money due the club.

Article No. 8

The duties of the Executive Board shall be:

To act for the club in all matters ordered by the club.

To make final decisions upon member expulsions.

To properly investigate and present to the club all business or important activity situations.

To have general control over all club affairs.

Six members shall comprise a quorum of the Executive Board.

Article No. 9

The duties of the Road Captain shall be:

To plan all club tours, runs, activities, etc.

To lead the club in formation riding or parades.

To arouse interest in activities.

To assist in handling club socials, parties and other functions.

To enforce all rules of group riding.

To select one or two assistants to aid in special tasks.

Article No. 10

The duties of the Referee shall be to have general supervision over all sanctioned competition events promoted by the club. (The duties of the Referee are completely outlined in the Competition Rule Book).

Article No. 11

All elective offices shall be filled at an annual election to be held on ________________ of each year and all officers shall hold this office for one year or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Article No. 12

The regular meetings of the club shall be held on ____________, ____________ at _____ p.m., but the President or Executive Board may call a special meeting at any time by posting a notice on the bulletin board at least four days in advance.

Article No. 13

__________ active members in good standing shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of club business.

Article No. 14

This constitution may be amended or added to the proposed amendment being submitted in writing at a regular meeting. It shall then be posted on the bulletin board for ________ weeks and voted on at the next meeting. A two-thirds vote of all active members in good standing shall be required to pass an amendment.

By-Laws

By-Law No. 1

Roberts Rules of Order shall govern the parliamentary proceedings of this club, unless otherwise provided in these by-laws. The order of business shall be:

1. Roll Call
2. Reading of Minutes of previous meeting
3. Report of Officers
4. Unfinished Business
5. New Business

By-Law No. 2

The standing committees of the Club shall be a House Committee of three members, and a Tour Committee of three members. The House Committee shall have supervision of the Clubhouse and be directly responsible for the maintenance of order, and the keeping of the Club furniture and fixtures in good condition. The Tour Committee, with the Road Captain acting as Chairman, shall have general charge of all tours and runs, subject to such orders as the Club may give.

By-Law No. 3

The Club dues shall be $_____ per month and the initiation fee $_____. The dues for each current month shall be paid not later than the 15th. Any member two months or more behind in his dues shall be considered not in good standing and shall not be entitled to vote at Club meetings.

By-Law No. 4

All bills must be checked and approved by the Executive Board before they are paid. All cheques should be countersigned by the President.

By-Law No. 5

Applications for membership must be recommended by two active members of the Club in good standing. Upon payment of dues, applicant will be placed on probation for a period of one month. At the expiration of that time, his conduct being satisfactory, he becomes a member and entitled to all privileges of the Club.

By-Law No. 6

Only active members shall be eligible to hold office in the Club.

By-Law No. 7

Any member who is over six months behind in his dues, may be expelled from the Club by a two-thirds vote of those present at any meeting.

By-Law No. 8

A member may be expelled for conduct unbecoming a member of the Club, but charges must first be made in writing and the accused member given a hearing before the Executive Board. The Executive Board shall take evidence and report its findings to the Club with the recommendation that the charge be considered as proven and the accused member be expelled, or the charges be considered not proven and the accused member remain a member of the Club. The Club shall thereupon take a vote to decide whether or not the recommendation of the Executive Board shall be adopted. It shall require a two-thirds vote of the active members present and entitled to vote, to veto the recommendation of the Executive Board.

By-Law No. 9

All active members of the Club shall be members of the C.M.A.

By-Law No. 10

Amendments to the adopted constitution and by-laws may be added, provided that such in no way supercede or contradict the constitution and by-laws of the parent body, the Canadian Motorcycle Association.

Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club

By-Laws

1. To be a member, a person must own a motorcycle.

2. Members and companions must have identification stating they are twenty-one or over.

3. Each member may own two sets of emblems, though no one may wear one without the approval of all members.

4. Prospective members must ride with the club three weeks and be voted on the fourth meeting.

5. If a member misses four meetings or gets two dollars behind in dues, he or she can be voted out of the club ($1.00 per week voted 7/21/66).

6. A member's bike must not be broken down over thirty days at a time, unless the person is in hospital or jail.

7. Any person not an active member of the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club caught wearing the emblem will by all means have it forcibly confiscated.

8. Prospective members must deposit $100.00 for their emblems with the treasurer before they can be voted on ($11.75 per set as of 7/1/66).

9. Voting on members will be by paper.

10. Two negative votes and a person will be refused membership.
    (a) There must be over fifty percent present to vote at the weekly meeting.

11. The members will not miss more than four runs in a row or he or she can be voted out.

12. There will be one run once a month that will be a mandatory run. All active members must go on this run or the member can be voted out of the club at the weekly meeting, when brought up by an active member.

13. Members may go on leave by being at a meeting and voted on leave, or by letting one of the officers of the club know; that officer will bring it up at the weekly meeting, and the present active members will vote for decision of leave on that member.

14. Any member who has been in the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club Frisco Chapter for five or more years and is in good standing with the club can be brought up at the meeting by an active member for lifetime honorary membership: Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club Frisco.

15. Any member who wishes to go on a leave of absence or come off a leave of absence must first pay all back dues and loans owed before he can be voted on or off leave.

16. Any active member who wishes to run for office will have another member bring his name up at a meeting for whatever office he wishes to run for. There will then be a show of hands by the members for "yes" or "no." The majority of hands for "yes" or "no" will rule the decision of whether or not there will be a vote by paper for the member running for office.

Satan's Angels Motorcycle Club

Rules and Regulations

The rules of the club will be strictly enforced. If any one breaks them, they will be dealt with by an appointed committee made up of the five original members. There will be a special group of rules, and if broken will require immediate dismissal. There will also be general rules. If these are broken, it could mean either dismissal or suspension, whatever the committee sees fit.

Breaking any of the following Rules will be reason for immediate dismissal:

1) Failure to pay his dues according to the section dealing with the paying of dues.
2) If a group or individual attacks any member, the whole club shall stand behind him and fight if necessary. If, however, member is drunk and aggressive and purposely starts an argument, the rest of the members will escort him away, or step between before trouble starts.
3) No member will disgrace the club by being yellow. (The above rules will be put forward to applicants. If they feel they cannot abide by these rules and are not in favour of them, they will be denied membership to the club).
4) No member will destroy club property purposely.
5) No member will take the attitude that he doesn't have to help other members and other members don't have to help him.
6) No member will go against anything the club has voted for and passed. Meaning if we decide to have a ride and when we reach

there we will sleep out in sleeping bags, no one will go off by himself and rent a room for the night unless he is sick with a cold or that sleeping out would be impossible for some reason. The people in charge of the ride will decide if he has a legitimate reason.

7) No members will get together on their own and plan something for themselves on club rides. It will be brought up to the whole club and the whole club will participate in anything that is decided upon.

8) The club will always stay together on rides, field meets, etc., and will not fraternize with rival clubs. The only way a member will be permitted to leave the main group will be to notify the president or whoever is in charge. When the time comes that the majority feel it is time to leave we will all leave together. Anyone staying behind for a good reason will do so at his own risk and can expect no help.

9) Members will have good attendance. Must have good reason for not attending meetings or rides, such as working, sickness, no transportation, bike not running.

Dues

Dues will be $2.00 per month payable every meeting or every second meeting. Upon failure of paying dues within two weeks, members shall be suspended and turn in his crest. If within two months dues still aren't paid, the crest will be forfeited to pay them and member will no longer be considered a member. The only exception to this shall be if a member is in jail or if he is out of town for a period of time. If he is in jail, dues won't be expected, but if he is out of town dues will be paid when he returns.

Applications

Anyone wanting to become a member must go through a two-month waiting period or more. Upon voting him in, the vote of members will only be taken as an opinion. The five original members will decide whether he is in or not. To be voted in, an applicant will fill out a form and a fee of $5.00 is charged. If at the end of two months it is decided he will not make a good member, he is refused membership and his application fee is not returned to him.

Whether he is voted in or not will be based upon:

1) Participation in club affairs, rides, meetings, etc.
2) Must have a running bike $500.00 or over.
3) Show a sincere interest in club and bikes.
4) Will stand behind club and members.
5) Will go along with what majority of club decides.
6) Interested in road club. Road rides come before competition events.
7) His opinion on rule numbers 2) and 3).
8) Is on the road with bike equipped for the road.

General Rules

1. No girlfriends taken on weekend rides unless decided upon by membership.
2. If club calls a ride all members will attend. If a member is working, sick, bike not running, he will be excused. If a member turns up at a ride and has no bike, someone who isn't packing can

pack him unless he is already packing or if his bike isn't in good enough shape to pack or if packing a rider will in some way do harm to the bike.

3. On weekend rides, a member should be able to take the time off work to attend. If for some reason it is impossible and there are over four members who can't leave till the following day, the rest of the club will wait for them.
4. Meetings will be closed except for prospective members and anyone there on business. Or, the meeting before a weekend ride, anyone wishing to attend the ride will be allowed at the meeting. Any non-member attending one of our rides will follow our rules. This goes for any other club attending our rides. If they break our riding rules, we stop and let them continue by themselves.
5. Anyone who has been kicked out will return his crest and will receive only half of what he paid for it.
6. During a meeting there will be no talking among members until they get the floor through the president. A sergeant-at-arms will be appointed and anyone not abiding by the above will be evicted.
7. No one shall pass the road captain or whoever is in charge of the ride.
8. Where we go on our rides will be voted upon by the entire membership.
9. The treasurer shall keep a clear record of all money paid in and out during the week and will balance it before every meeting. The books will be gone over once a week.

10. Everyone will attend the meeting on his bike if it is favourable weather, unless his bike is broken down or not running at the time.
11. If for some reason such as a licence suspension, a member can't ride on the road, or if his bike is not running for a long period of time, or if he is without a bike for a short time, he will turn in his crest and upon getting back on the road, the crest will be returned.
12. Everyone must have a bike. Consideration will be given to any member who is in between bikes but he must sincerely intend to get another bike in the near future.
13. It is recommended to members to have their crests fitted to their jackets with snap buttons so they can be removed without damage.
14. No one shall lend his crest or t-shirt to any non-member unless it is someone who is being packed. Once off the bike, the non-member must return the crest.
15. Around town, no members will purposely cause trouble wearing a crest, such as causing a disturbance at the clubhouse in such a way as to have cops brought in.
16. (four written lines scored out)
17. Everyone wears his crest in rides - only crests, no club jackets.
18. (four written lines scored out)
19. Anyone leaving town for period longer than six months turns in crest and is no longer a member. Can submit application when he returns.
20. Anyone missing meetings even if at work gets fined $1.00 except

for guys in hospital or jail or out of town for a period of time. Two weeks' holidays not included, including applicants.

APPENDIX E

Subsistence Strategy Tables

TABLE 12

BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	5	1			
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	5	1			
3. Edmonton City Police				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	1	5			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
4. Mechanic						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			
5. Welder or Machinist						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			
6. Pipefitter					X	
	Ken	x				
	Caveman		x			
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		5	1			

TABLE 12
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
7. Teacher			X		
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	2	4			
8. Unemployment Insurance			X		
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	3	3			
9. Ice Cream Vendor					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber			X		
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	4	2			
11. Mason			X		
Ken		x			
Caveman	x				
Steve		x			
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	3	3			
12. Postman				X	
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	1	5			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
13. Autobody Repair Man				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	5	1			
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	1	5			
15. Own Private Business					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
16. Store Clerk					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
17. Truck Driver					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
18. Transit Driver					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
19. Welfare			X		
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	2	4			
20. Money from "Old Lady"			X		
Ken		x			
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	4	2			
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
		Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
22. Motorcycle Theft					X	
	Ken		x			
	Caveman	x				
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch		x			
		1	5			
23. Miscellaneous Theft					X	
	Ken		x			
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch	x				
		1	5			
24. Construction Worker						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			

TABLE 12
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	5	1			
26. Sale of Hard Drugs					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
27. Sale of Marijuana					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			

TABLE 12
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
28. Ranching or Farming				X	
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider	x				
Raunch		x			
	1	5			
29. University Student					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
30. Technological Institute Student					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			

TABLE 12

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
31. Politician					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
32. Salesman				X	
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	1	5			

TABLE 13

DEGREE OF OVERLAP IN MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs	5	1		x	
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar	5	1		x	
3. Edmonton City Police	1	5		x	
4. Mechanic	6	0			x
5. Welder or Machinist	6	0			x
6. Pipefitter	5	1		x	
7. Teacher	2	4	x		
8. Unemployment Insurance	3	3	x		
9. Ice Cream Vendor	0	6			x
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber	4	2	x		
11. Mason	3	3	x		
12. Postman	1	5		x	
13. Autobody Repair Man	5	1		x	
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police	1	5		x	
15. Own Private Business	6	0			x
16. Store Clerk	0	6			x

TABLE 13

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		
	Would Individual Consider Employing Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
17. Truck Driver	6	0			x
18. Transit Driver	0	6			x
19. Welfare	2	4	x		
20. Money from "Old Lady"	4	2	x		
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles	6	0			x
22. Motorcycle Theft	1	5		x	
23. Miscellaneous Theft	1	5		x	
24. Construction Worker	6	0			x
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)	5	1		x	
26. Sale of Hard Drugs	0	6			x
27. Sale of Marijuana	0	6			x
28. Ranching or Farming	1	5		x	
29. University Student	0	6			x
30. Technological Institute Student	6	0			x
31. Politician	0	6			x
32. Salesman	1	5		x	

TABLE 14

BREAKDOWN OF OVERLAP IN MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar			X		
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	3	3			
3. Edmonton City Police					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			

TABLE 14
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
		Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
4. Mechanic						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			
5. Welder or Machinist						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			
6. Pipefitter						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			

TABLE 14

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
7. Teacher						X
	Ken		x			
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch		x			
		0	6			
8. Unemployment Insurance						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			
9. Ice Cream Vendor						X
	Ken		x			
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch		x			
		0	6			

TABLE 14
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
11. Mason					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
12. Postman			X		
Ken	x				
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	4	2			

TABLE 14

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
13. Autobody Repair Man					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
15. Own Private Business					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			

TABLE 14

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
16. Store Clerk					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
17. Truck Driver					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
18. Transit Driver					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			

TABLE 14
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
19. Welfare				X		
	Ken	x				
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch	x				
		2	4			
20. Money from "Old Lady"						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			

TABLE 14
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
22. Motorcycle Theft			X		
Ken		x			
Caveman	x				
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	3	3			
23. Miscellaneous Theft			X		
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	4	2			
24. Construction Worker					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			

TABLE 14

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)					X
Ken	x				
Caveman	x				
Steve	x				
Blues	x				
Spider	x				
Raunch	x				
	6	0			
26. Sale of Hard Drugs					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
27. Sale of Marijuana				X	
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch	x				
	1	5			

TABLE 14
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Degree of Overlap		
		Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
28. Ranching or Farming					X	
	Ken		x			
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider	x				
	Raunch		x			
		1	5			
29. University Student						X
	Ken		x			
	Caveman		x			
	Steve		x			
	Blues		x			
	Spider		x			
	Raunch		x			
		0	6			
30. Technological Institute Student						X
	Ken	x				
	Caveman	x				
	Steve	x				
	Blues	x				
	Spider	x				
	Raunch	x				
		6	0			

TABLE 14

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
31. Politician					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			
32. Salesman					X
Ken		x			
Caveman		x			
Steve		x			
Blues		x			
Spider		x			
Raunch		x			
	0	6			

TABLE 15

DEGREE OF OVERLAP ON MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Degree of Overlap		
	Yes	No	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs	6	0			X
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar	3	3	X		
3. Edmonton City Police	0	6			X
4. Mechanic	6	0			X
5. Welder or Machinist	6	0			X
6. Pipefitter	6	0			X
7. Teacher	0	6			X
8. Unemployment Insurance	6	0			X
9. Ice Cream Vendor	0	6			X
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber	6	0			X
11. Mason	6	0			X
12. Postman	4	2	X		
13. Autobody Repair Man	6	0			X
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police	0	6			X
15. Own Private Business	6	0			X
16. Store Clerk	0	6			X

TABLE 15

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel That Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy? Yes	No	MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Degree of Overlap Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
17. Truck Driver	6	0			X
18. Transit Driver	0	6			X
19. Welfare	2	4	X		
20. Money from "Old Lady"	6	0			X
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles	6	0			X
22. Motorcycle Theft	3	3	X		
23. Miscellaneous Theft	4	2	X		
24. Construction Worker	6	0			X
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)	6	0			X
26. Sale of Hard Drugs	0	6			X
27. Sale of Marijuana	1	5		X	
28. Ranching or Farming	1	5		X	
29. University Student	0	6			X
30. Technological Institute Student	6	0			X
31. Politician	0	6			X
32. Salesman	0	6			X

TABLE 16

BREAKDOWN OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch	x		x		x	
					5	1
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar						
Ken	x			x		x
Caveman	x			x		x
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x			x		x
Raunch		x	x			x
					2	4

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
3. Edmonton City Police						
Ken	x			x		x
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					5	1
4. Mechanic						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
5. Welder or Machinist						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
6. Pipefitter						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman		x	x			x
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					5	1

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
7. Teacher						
Ken	x			x		x
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider	x			x		x
Raunch		x		x	x	
					4	2
8. Unemployment Insurance						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve		x	x			x
Blues		x	x			x
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch	x		x		x	
					3	3

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
9. Ice Cream Vendor						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber						
Ken		x	x			x
Caveman		x	x			x
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					4	2

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
11. Mason						
Ken		x	x			x
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve		x	x			x
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch		x	x			x
					3	3
12. Postman						
Ken		x	x			x
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x	x			x
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch	x		x		x	
					3	3

TABLE 16
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
13. Autobody Repair Man						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch		x	x			x
					5	1
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police						
Ken	x			x		x
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					5	1

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE: Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
15. Own Private Business						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
16. Store Clerk						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
17. Truck Driver						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
18. Transit Driver						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
19. Welfare						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
20. Money from "Old Lady"						
Ken		x	x			x
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch		x	x			x
					4	2

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0
22. Motorcycle Theft						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch		x	x			x
					4	2

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
23. Miscellaneous Theft						
Ken		x	x			x
Caveman		x	x			x
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch	x		x		x	
					3	3
24. Construction Worker						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE: Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?.		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR: Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch		x	x			x
					5	1
26. Sale of Hard Drugs						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
27. Sale of Marijuana						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x	x			x
Raunch		x		x	x	
					5	1
28. Ranching or Farming						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
29. University Student						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0
30. Technological Institute Student						
Ken	x		x		x	
Caveman	x		x		x	
Steve	x		x		x	
Blues	x		x		x	
Spider	x		x		x	
Raunch	x		x		x	
					6	0

TABLE 16

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE		PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PERSONAL PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	
	Would Individual Employ Proposed Subsistence Strategy?		Does Individual Feel Other Rebel M.C. Members Would Employ Strategy?		Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Corresponds	Contradicts
31. Politician						
Ken		x		x	x	
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					6	0
32. Salesman						
Ken	x			x		x
Caveman		x		x	x	
Steve		x		x	x	
Blues		x		x	x	
Spider		x		x	x	
Raunch		x		x	x	
					5	1

TABLE 17

DEGREE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?		Degree of Overlap		
	Corresponds	Contradicts	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs	5	1		X	
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar	2	4	X		
3. Edmonton City Police	5	1		X	
4. Mechanic	6	0			X
5. Welder or Machinist	6	0			X
6. Pipefitter	5	1		X	
7. Teacher	4	2	X		
8. Unemployment Insurance	3	3	X		
9. Ice Cream Vendor	6	0			X
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber	4	2	X		
11. Mason	3	3	X		
12. Postman	3	3	X		
13. Autobody Repair Man	5	1		X	
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police	5	1		X	
15. Own Private Business	6	0			X
16. Store Clerk	6	0			X

TABLE 17

(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR		
	Does Individual Feel His Personal Behavioural Choice Is In Agreement With What He Presumes Other Members Would Do?		Degree of Overlap		
	Corresponds	Contradicts	Nil or Minor	Moderate	Total
17. Truck Driver	6	0			X
18. Transit Driver	6	0			X
19. Welfare	6	0			X
20. Money from "Old Lady"	4	2	X		
21. Customize/Sell Motorcycles	6	0			X
22. Motorcycle Theft	4	2	X		
23. Miscellaneous Theft	3	3	X		
24. Construction Worker	6	0			X
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)	5	1		X	
26. Sale of Hard Drugs	6	0			X
27. Sale of Marijuana	5	1		X	
28. Ranching or Farming	6	0			X
29. University Student	6	0			X
30. Technological Institute Student	6	0			X
31. Politician	6	0			X
32. Salesman	5	1		X	

TABLE 18

SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES DISPLAYING: 1) TOTAL OVERLAP OF PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE 2) TOTAL OVERLAP OF PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR 3) TOTAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL OVERLAP ON ALL THREE VARIABLES
1. Roughneck on Oil Rigs		X		
2. Bouncer in Hotel Bar				
3. Edmonton City Police		X		
4. MECHANIC	X	X	X	X
5. WELDER OR MACHINIST	X	X	X	X
6. Pipefitter		X		
7. Teacher		X		
8. Unemployment Insurance		X		
9. ICE CREAM VENDOR	X	X	X	X
10. Electrician/Carpenter/Plumber		X		
11. Mason		X		
12. Postman				
13. Autobody Repair Man		X		
14. Royal Canadian Mounted Police		X		
15. OWN PRIVATE BUSINESS	X	X	X	X
16. STORE CLERK	X	X	X	X

TABLE 18
(CONTINUED)

PROPOSED SUBSISTENCE STRATEGY	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE	TOTAL OVERLAP OF MEMBERS' PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS' PERSONAL BEHAVIOURAL CHOICE AND PRESUMED BEHAVIOUR	TOTAL OVERLAP ON ALL THREE VARIABLES
17. TRUCK DRIVER	X	X	X	X
18. TRANSIT DRIVER	X	X	X	X
19. Welfare			X	
20. Money from "Old Lady"		X		
21. CUSTOMIZE/SELL MOTORCYCLES	X	X	X	X
22. Motorcycle Theft				
23. Miscellaneous Theft				
24. CONSTRUCTION WORKER	X	X	X	X
25. Hustling (Pool, Cards, etc.)		X		
26. SALE OF HARD DRUGS	X	X	X	X
27. Sale of Marijuana	X			
28. Ranching or Farming			X	
29. UNIVERSITY STUDENT	X	X	X	X
30. TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE STUDENT	X	X	X	X
31. POLITICIAN	X	X	X	X
32. Salesman		X		